







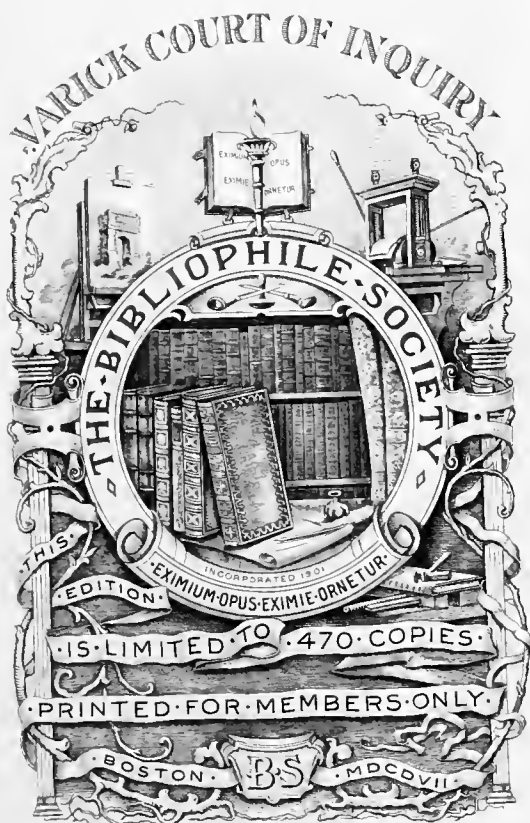
**PROCEEDINGS**

**OF**

**THE VARICK COURT OF INQUIRY**





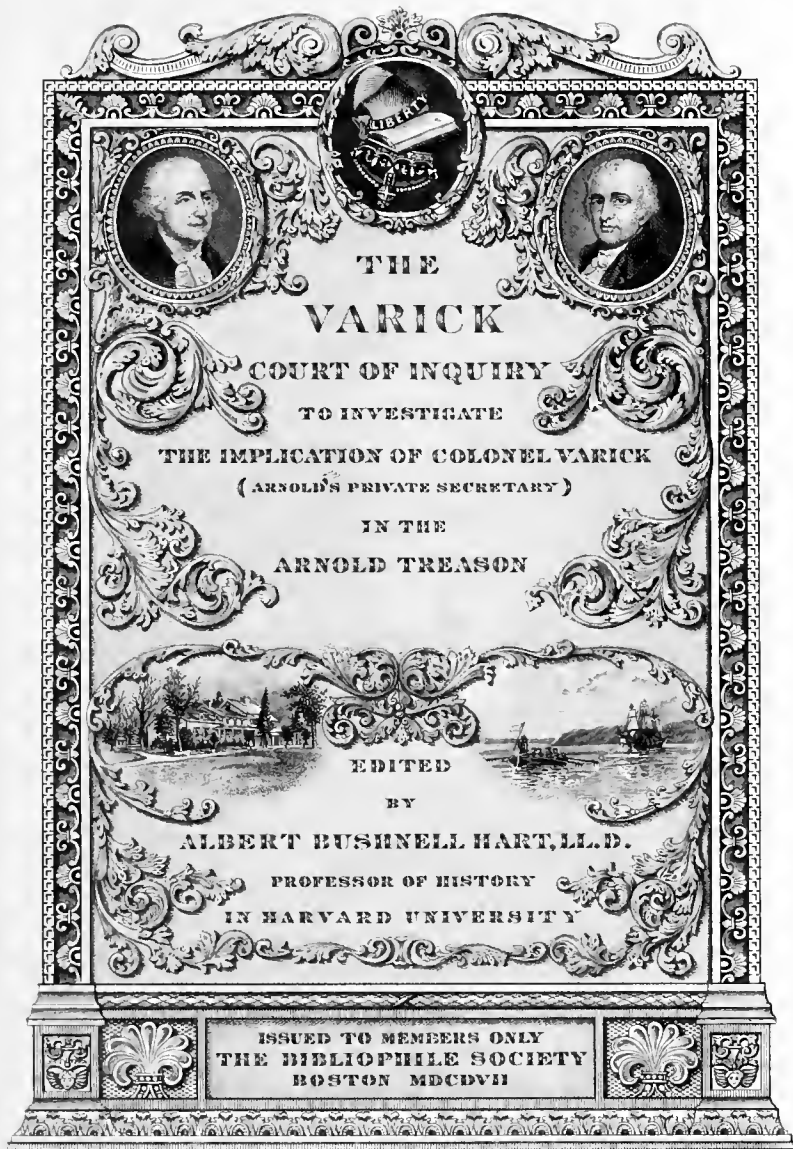








Varick, R.



F 236  
V 29  
cop 23

Copyrighted, 1907, by  
THE BIBLIOPHILE SOCIETY

*All rights reserved*

6181 B4  
F15 43







# TABLE OF CONTENTS

## CHRONOLOGICALLY ARRANGED

	Page
1778. March Varick's oath of allegiance to the U. S.,	69
1780. Aug. 5 Arnold's letter offering the secretaryship to Varick,	82
1780. Aug. 7 Varick's letter accepting the appointment,	83
1780. Aug. 14 Varick to Colonel Hay, on reasons for ac- ceptance,	85
1780. Aug. 17 Arnold's letter to Governor Clinton, on flags,	89
1780. Aug. 22 Clinton's reply to Arnold,	90
1780. Aug. 24 Varick to Colonel Benson, on flags, and Joshua Hett Smith,	92
1780. Aug. 30 Arnold to Anderson (André) "Gustavus" letter,	102
1780. Sept. 1 Arnold to Colonel Sheldon, on the emissary (André),	106
1780. Sept. 3 Arnold to Mr. Stephens, to hurry provisions,	193
1780. Sept. 4 Arnold to Colonel Livingston, on repelling British (facsimile),	194
1780. Sept. 7 Arnold to Colonel Sheldon, on the emissary (André),	107
1780. Sept. 7 John Anderson (André) to Colonel Sheldon, on his mission,	109
1780. Sept. 8 Arnold to General Parsons, on getting intel- ligence (facsimile),	196
1780. Sept. 8 Arnold (per Varick) to Washington, on with- drawing troops,	198
1780. Sept. 9 Colonel Sheldon to Arnold, on the emissary,	108

1780. Sept. 10	Arnold to Colonel Sheldon, on Anderson (André), and "Gustavus" letter,	111
1780. Sept. 12	Arnold to General Greene (facsimile)	199
1780. Sept. 13	Arnold (per Varick) to Colonel Sheldon, on "Gustavus" letter, and suspicions,	200
1780. Sept. 13	Arnold to Major Tallmadge, on Anderson (André),	113
1780. Sept. 14	Arnold to Washington, on the general council against offensive operations (facsimile),	203
1780. Sept. 14	Washington to Arnold, on bargemen, etc., (facsimile),	201
1780. Sept. 16	Arnold (per Varick) to Colonel Lamb, on the two guns,	205
1780. Sept. 16	Arnold (per Varick) to Washington,	202
1780. Sept. 19	Arnold (per Varick), text of passes to women,	207
1780. Sept. 19	Arnold to Colonel Livingston, on the two guns (facsimile),	206
1780. Sept. 19	Colonel Benson's reply to Varick, on flags, and Smith,	96
1780. Sept. 26	Washington to Judge-Advocate Lawrence, on the treason (facsimile),	208
1780. Oct. 1	Varick to his sister, on the treason,	189
1780. Oct. '8	Colonel Butler to John Montgomery, on the treason (facsimile),	209
1780. Oct. 15	Letter from General Schuyler to the Court of Inquiry (facsimile),	67
1780. Oct. 16	Washington to Governor Clinton, on Highland garrison (facsimile),	212
1780. Oct. 16	Deposition of Captain Henry Sewall,	71
1780. Oct. 16	Certificate of General Parsons,	73
1780. Oct. 17	Certificate of General St. Clair,	74
1780. Oct. 17	Colonel Harrison's certificate, on "Gustavus" letter,	105

1780.	Oct.	17	Mrs. Martin's deposition,	157
1780.	Oct.	18	Deposition of the Rev. Dyrck Romeyn,	76
1780.	Oct.	19	Certificate of General Paterson,	75
1780.	Oct.	21	Colonel Harrison's deposition, on Varick's character and behaviour,	113
1780.	Oct.	21	Colonel Mead's deposition, on Varick's char- acter and behaviour,	115
1780.	Oct.	22	General Knox's deposition, on Varick's char- acter and behaviour (facsimile),	117
1780.	Oct.	22	Ass't Commissary Marshall's certificate,	159
1780.	Oct.	26	General Parsons's certificate, on Heron, bearer of the " Gustavus " letter,	99
1780.	Oct.	26	Heron's deposition, on " Gustavus " letter,	102
1780.	Oct.	31	General Heath's order for Court of Inquiry, designating members,	52
1780.	Nov.	2	Court ordered to sit on the 3rd,	53
1780.	Nov.	3	Varick's opening address, 54 ; renewal of argument, 75 ; address as to joining Ar- nold, 81 ; address, on Arnold's conduct, 87 ; closing argument, summing up, 162.	
1780.	Nov.	4	Dr. Eustis's testimony,	137
1780.	Nov.	5	Colonel Lamb's testimony,	147
1780.	Nov.	5	Reference to Arnold's memorandum book, Commissary Tripp's testimony,	155
1780.	Nov.	5	Major Franks's testimony,	120
1780.	Nov.	5	Deposition of Major Nicholas Fish,	65
1780.	Nov.	16	Washington's (per Scammel) approval of the finding of the Court of Inquiry (facsimile),	165
1780.	Nov.	19	Franks's interrogatories to Colonel Varick,	167



view of the famous King's Mountain Battle-ground, where 1200 Ferguson's Greens and 1000 marauders—mostly Tories—were annihilated by a body of enraged patriots. This was shortly after the disastrous defeat of the Continental Army at the South, August 16, 1780, and just one year and two days later, the British surrendered at Yorktown.

This view is from the foot of the hill where the hottest of the fight occurred. The North slope of the eminence is seen on the left. In the foreground, on the right, is shown the great tulip-tree upon which, tradition says, ten Tories were hung.

THE original draft of the Proceedings from which this volume is printed is entirely in the handwriting of the principal character, Colonel Richard Varick; it now forms a part of the vast collection of original manuscripts belonging to Mr. William K. Bixby, to whom the members are indebted for the exclusive privilege of issuing in convenient book form this valuable contribution to the early history of our country, relating to one of the great pivotal incidents of the Revolution.

Mr. Bixby has collected many important contemporary autograph letters bearing upon this epoch, though not included in the evidence (among them the last from Washing-

ton to Arnold, and the last from Arnold to Washington, before the discovery of the treason, the first of which is herein reproduced in facsimile), and these, with editorial comments, are printed in the Second Part of the volume. The members are therefore permitted to share the enjoyment of the results of many years of research, and the expenditure of many thousands of dollars in bringing together the material from which it was possible to produce this volume.

THE COUNCIL

# NEWLIGHT ON ARNOLD'S TREASON FROM THE VARICK PAPERS

BY ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, LL. D.

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN HARVARD UNIVERSITY

FEW subjects in American history have been so thoroughly sifted as the treason of General Benedict Arnold in 1780. The first-hand material includes the proceedings of two courts martial (one on André and one on Smith); the correspondence of Washington, Hamilton, Lamb and other people who were at West Point on the day of discovery; the memoirs of other military men and civilians who were cognizant of the facts; Arnold's own braggadocio statements; Clinton's account of his relation to the affair; and other significant evidence. Three biographers of Arnold and two of André have minutely searched the field, and it would seem impossible that any considerable body of documents could still remain unused. Yet

for a century and a quarter there has been in existence a quantity of manuscript collected by Colonel Richard Varick, who was military secretary to Arnold at the time of the treason, and which appears to have been overlooked by the writers on the affair. It is this material which forms the present volume in the series of the publications of The Bibliophile Society.

We owe this collection to Varick's sagacious intention to secure his own reputation against any possibility of suspicion that he was in collusion with Arnold, by demanding a court of inquiry, the proceedings of which were transcribed in his own hand, together with many valuable letters which were presented in the evidence; and he added other autograph letters and transcripts bearing upon his case. These documents were carefully preserved by Varick throughout his life, passed into the hands of his nephew, Abraham Varick, and eventually became the property of Mr. William K. Bixby, by whose kind permission they are placed at the disposal of The Bibliophile Society. A transcript of a part of the material appears to



have drifted into other quarters, where about twenty years ago it was found by Mr. H. P. Johnston, who wrote an article in the *Magazine of American History*, including some extracts from the testimony before the court, and vague allusions may be found here and there in the secondary writers to information derived from the Varick papers : but it does not appear that till now any investigator has ever carefully examined this material. Comparison with the printed documents of the period seems to establish that the proceedings of the court have never before been printed, and that most of the appended letters cannot be found in any of the collections of material on the treason, or in the memoirs and correspondence of the principal men of the period.

These papers, therefore, are substantially a new contribution to the history of the important Arnold affair ; while they do not materially alter the accepted views as to the inception and progress of Arnold's treachery or the manner of discovery, they enlarge and illuminate our knowledge ; and on several important questions — notably Arnold's

effort to secure an interview with a British representative, the "Gustavus" letter of August 30, 1780, the guilt of Joshua Hett Smith, and the innocence of Mrs. Arnold — they furnish new evidence.

The best way to bring out the significance of the Varick papers will be briefly to review the history of Arnold's treason and to notice the bearing of the new material on the successive episodes of the story. This is substantially the method which Varick himself follows in the interesting letter to his sister of October 1, 1780: "I now set myself down to my Pen and paper to give you a small Detail of the most painful Scenery and the black *Secret* Transactions of my late Bosom Friend and social Companion, but now the execrably perfidious and Treacherous Parricide, the late Major-General Benedict Arnold, of infamous Memory."

Notwithstanding the numerous studies of Benedict Arnold's character, he still remains one of the contradictions of American history: proud and despicable; brave as a lion, and thin-skinned as an eel; exasperatingly obstinate, yet willing to yield up all his prin-

ciples; a natural leader of men, yet always in hot water with his military contemporaries; friend and confidant of Washington, yet ready to betray his general for a price, — Arnold was a puzzle to the men of his time and is still an unsolved mystery. Yet there is a key to his conduct; the disintegration of character which led to the treason can be traced far back. Arnold was not only a general but a financial adventurer, who put little or no money into the Revolution and felt himself entitled to take a great deal out. He spent for his own purposes funds placed in his hands for the public use; to recoup himself relied upon claims which were never allowed by the United States; and thus plunged himself into debt from which he saw little prospect of relief except in selling himself to the highest bidder.

Arnold, born in 1740, as a mere boy fought in the French and Indian war, then went into business, and was once a bankrupt; but on the news of the battle of Lexington he at once threw himself into the Revolution, and for three years showed himself the boldest of the bold, — a brave, unflinching and

successful soldier, a good fighting man and a skilful strategist. Nevertheless, in every campaign he involved himself in two kinds of difficulties: with his accounts, and with his fellow officers. Though a Connecticut man, in his first campaign he was commissioned as colonel by Massachusetts and sent out to take Ticonderoga. There he had his initial clash, — a contest for rank and command with Ethan Allen, — but though obliged to take a second place he showed characteristic boldness by fighting like a lion at Allen's side. Characteristically, also, his papers were in confusion; and when a committee of the Massachusetts legislature called for an accounting he protested and resigned, and set up a plea of ingratitude and ill usage which was to become familiar in his mouth.

In his Quebec expedition of 1775-76 again he showed a vigor of conception, a pertinacity and a power to influence men which were rare among the unskilled officers of the time; and he also received a severe wound, which, it must be confessed, was thenceforward an asset habitually put for-

ward whenever he had a contention. The Canadian expedition, besides the mortification of its eventual failure (for reasons quite beyond Arnold's control), brought upon him three controversies. He ordered the seizure of the goods of the Montreal merchants, and when a resulting court martial which was sitting on one of his subordinates did not agree with him, he genially offered to fight the members of the court; he prevented a court of inquiry asked for by one of his officers who had brought charges against him, and after the campaign was over the treasury officials of the United States found in his accounts such extravagant allowances to himself that they declined to pass them; and for the four years from 1776 to 1780 held up his pay, because of the large amounts claimed against him by the government.

Washington apparently accepted Arnold's explanations on this disagreeable business and used every exertion with Congress to secure promotion for him, declaring that "surely a more active, a more spirited, and sensible officer fills no department of your

army." Eventually he received the coveted major-generalship, in spite of a very strong undercurrent of suspicion and dislike in Congress. In the Burgoyne campaign of 1777 his was the indefatigable spirit in the army ; but he became engaged in a bitter controversy with Gates and made that coxcomb his implacable rival and enemy.

On the occupation of Philadelphia in June, 1778, Washington honored him by appointing him commander of the city, but he forthwith plunged into a new series of difficulties with the executive council of Pennsylvania. The result was a series of inquiries culminating in a court martial which lasted through the greater part of 1779 and ended January 26, 1780, in a conviction upon minor points, the court evidently thinking that Arnold needed a rebuke.

The real difficulty seems to have been Arnold's extravagance. Although property was later found in his former home in New Haven and in Philadelphia, where he had bought a magnificent estate, it is difficult to see where the funds came from ; and it is certain that he was loaded down with debt.

In the spring of 1779 he married the beautiful Peggy Shippen, daughter of a family of loyalist proclivities in Philadelphia, and he set up a household on a great scale, with a four-horse coach and lavish entertainments. The proceedings of the court martial of 1779 show at least one desperate attempt to make money out of his public position. On taking command in Philadelphia he ordered (for good military reasons) the temporary closing of all the shops ; but he immediately authorized his aide, Major Franks, to purchase goods right and left in any quantity for their joint profit. Franks subsequently testified that he had made no use of this authorization, and a charge that Arnold had used public wagons for his private purposes was also unproved ; but we now know that during the period of the court martial Arnold was trying all sorts of expedients for relief from financial distress. He formed a plan for resigning from the army, to head a new settlement in western New York ; he asked Washington's advice on a scheme of transfer, to put him at the head of the navy, where he might win both prize money and renown ; he speculated

in privateering enterprises; according to Marbois, secretary of the French legation, he personally appealed to the French minister, Luzerne, for a subsidy sufficient to pay his debts.

The penalty inflicted by the court martial was a reprimand by the Commander-in-Chief, which is preserved to us only in the somewhat pompous version of Marbois; in it Washington promised Arnold an opportunity to restore his reputation. Arnold himself and many later writers have insisted that the mortification of this public disgrace impelled him to seek satisfaction for his country's ingratitude. Unfortunately for this charitable theory, the present papers enlarge the evidence that before the court martial held its first session Arnold was already in correspondence with the enemy; they reveal the fact that Franks knew that Arnold in 1779 was corresponding with one John Anderson in New York; and Sir Henry Clinton wrote to the English government in October, 1780, "About eighteen months since, I had some reason to conclude that the American Major-General Arnold was desir-



ous of quitting the rebel service and joining the cause of Great Britain."

The truth is that Arnold was financially waterlogged. He applied, apparently in vain, for four months' pay in cash; in his negotiations with Clinton in 1780 he notified him that he had drawn on him for three hundred pounds. The real reason for Arnold's treason was not the ingratitude of the republic, nor the injustice of the court martial, nor the indisposition of Congress to recognize his merits. If a windfall of a few thousand specie dollars had come in, he would probably have forgotten what he termed his "injuries" and would have gone forward in a military career, next to Washington in responsibility.

Various efforts have been made to show that Arnold was seduced by emissaries from the British camp, but the truth is that throughout most of 1779, while defending his sacred honor against what he complained of as the barbarous, unjust and malignant aspersions of the Pennsylvania authorities, he was offering intelligence to Clinton, the accuracy of which showed him to be an

American officer of high rank, and in this period began the series of letters signed "Gustavus" and addressed to "Mr. John Anderson, Merchant;" John Anderson being actually John André, who, in the fall of 1779, became Deputy Adjutant-General of the British army. On August 16, 1779, John André, who had known Peggy Shippen, wrote to Mrs. Arnold in his own name offering to make small purchases for her in New York. The purpose was probably to give Arnold an opportunity of comparing the handwriting of John André with that of John Anderson.

Perhaps from this period dates an unsigned paper which does not appear in official proceedings—though Marbois says it was found at West Point—suggesting that the time had come for another General Monk, to restore peace to a distracted country. General Monk, however, had control of a military force which could decide the result. It is therefore not strange that as early as about April, 1780, Arnold asked General Schuyler to suggest to Washington that he entrust Arnold with the command of forces

in the Highlands, including West Point. He urged Robert R. Livingston to write in a similar strain and then made direct application to Washington; but he found it difficult to persuade the General that Benedict Arnold could prefer post duty to active service, although the good old wounded leg that had so often testified for Arnold in investigations and court-martials was again brought into service. On August 1, 1780, a general order was issued in which Arnold was designated as commander of the left wing in what it was supposed would be an offensive campaign. Greatly to Washington's surprise, this appointment was plainly disconcerting to Arnold, at whose earnest request, on August 3, 1780, the coveted appointment to the Highlands was made. A private memorandum of Arnold's (revealed in the Varick testimony) shows active correspondence with "John Anderson" ever since June 7; and also shows better than any previous evidence how systematically and pertinaciously Arnold at once set to work to bring about a personal interview with a representative of Clinton.

This purpose was disturbed and modified by the arrival on the scene of Colonel Richard Varick. Born at Hackensack, March 25, 1753, a member of a well-to-do and prominent family, young Varick was, at twenty-one, admitted to the bar in New York City and became a partner of his former preceptor, John Morin Scott; but "*inter arma silent leges*," and on June 28, 1775, he enlisted as captain in a New York regiment, and three days later became secretary to General Schuyler. After a year and a half of this service he was appointed, September 25, 1776, "deputy Muster-Master-General to the northern army," and promoted to be Lieutenant-Colonel; in this capacity he served till congress abolished the office January 12, 1780, when he returned to civil life.

During his service it chanced to Varick to be thrown into relations with Arnold. In October, 1776, he wrote to Gates: "But among the *favours* of Providence we have the blessing of General Arnold's safe return. . . . I hope, however, he will still humble the pride and arrogance of haughty Britain." In September, 1777, he was one of a

reconnoitering party which rode out with Arnold "to pick out Ground for a New Camp;" and into the controversy between Gates and Arnold, Varick threw himself with much energy. He wrote: "It is evident to me he (Gates) never intended to fight Burgoyne until Arnold urged, begged and entreated him to do it." A few days later, when challenges were flying about among the officers, and somebody said that Arnold's mind was poisoned by those about him, Varick wrote: "Here I feel myself touched . . . I shall avoid as much as possible going to Arnold's, lest I may be the ostensible cause of dispute." It is significant also that in this campaign Varick also became acquainted with Arnold's aide, Major Franks, with whom he was to be closely associated in 1780.

As soon as Arnold was settled in his new responsibilities he wrote to Schuyler to suggest a military secretary, and Schuyler named Varick. To the young officer it was a rope let down from the skies, for he had been anything but happy in his enforced retirement at Hackensack. He had hardly reached home when the British raided the place, and

the young man found himself doing militia duty for the defense of the region, without any of the responsibilities of command. When, a little later, the cloud of Arnold's treason cast a shadow upon him it was well that he could point to this patriotic service and to the loyalty and sacrifices of his family, of which Varick said in the trial that they "have suffered many personal and exemplary cruelties and indignities, as well as great loss of property, from the enemy." Indeed, his father, John Varick, had been twice held as a prisoner by the British in New York.

To Arnold's letter of August 5, inviting him to become military secretary and promising that he should have plenty of time for his law studies, Varick forthwith replied, August 7, 1780, that he was especially glad of service "under an officer, than whom none in the army claims greater respect from and will be more agreeable to me, than yourself;" and he promised, as soon as his clothes were ready, to join and remain "till the reduction of New York." It was August 14 before he presented himself at the Robinson House, nearly opposite West Point, which was

Arnold's headquarters ; and just six weeks thereafter came the explosion. Varick quickly discovered that he had no time for law studies and complained of the long hours of clerical work, and he even threatened to resign after about five weeks' service. But he was a good secretary in the somewhat stilted style of the time, especially when dealing with personal enemies like Gates, of whom he wrote after the battle of Camden : " He will be blasted in this World, and humanly judging, he ought to be in the next, for not supporting the Maryland troops and suffering them to be so mauled, when, had he behaved like a soldier himself, Cornwallis would have been ruined, and to use a common term, Cornwalladed."

In Arnold's household Varick found his old acquaintance Major Franks, and on September 14 Mrs. Arnold came with her little son. Dr. Eustis, later secretary of war, was in charge of a near-by hospital; Major John Lamb, chief of the artillery, an extremely sensible and indefatigable officer, was a frequent visitor ; and Joshua Hett Smith, a gentleman living at Haverstraw, on the west

side of the river, was several times entertained at the house.

With the exception of Smith there seems from the papers to have been no disturbing element in this little family, and Varick went on with his routine secretaryship without the slightest suspicion of the tumult of plans and fears which was raging in Arnold's breast; but his residence at headquarters, his talks with the officers who came and went,—once his Excellency General Washington loomed up on the scene,—his intimate association with Arnold, his access to the military correspondence, all gave him an opportunity for observations during those six weeks which are recorded by no other authority. A keen and sensible young man, well versed in military etiquette and the details of military correspondence, he could not help noticing several things out of the common, and freely commented upon them to his intimate, Major Franks.

The testimony at the trial clearly reveals that both Varick and Franks were aware that Arnold was in correspondence with one "John Anderson," ostensibly to secure intel-



ligence; but they both were convinced that he was trying to open a secret trade through the enemy's lines. Varick told Franks that Arnold was writing in a "mercantile style" to John Anderson. Their suspicions on this point were strengthened by several efforts of Arnold to make merchandise of public stores. Indeed, after Arnold's flight, reports were rife that he had been looting the public supplies; but whatever Arnold's corrupt purposes, the testimony of Varick and Franks points only to trifling successes. The fiery young secretary refused from the outset to take any responsibility for Arnold's stores or household supplies; but he protested when Arnold tried to exchange rum and salt provisions for fresh provisions, because he said it forestalled the market against other officers who had nothing but money with which to buy supplies. Varick also effectively remonstrated against an attempt of Arnold to sell three barrels of pork to one Captain Bard, warning his commander that "he would incur disgrace if he did sell any provisions." Arnold had more important things on hand than the mere peddling out of rum and salt

and barrels of pork; but Varick undoubtedly prevented a more active movement of provisions out of the post cellars.

In Washington's instructions to Arnold of August 3, 1780, he defined his field of command as the post of West Point "and its dependencies, in which are included all from Fishkill to King's Ferry. The corps of infantry and cavalry which are advancing toward the enemy's lines on the east side of the river will also be under your orders." This extended command gave Arnold the long desired opportunity for the direct transmission of correspondence with the enemy, and he even ventured to ask the Commander-in-Chief for "a map of the country from this place to New York, especially on the east side of the river;" and he doubtless had intelligence before Washington's letter of August 11 that the British troops on Long Island were being embarked, possibly for operations on the Hudson.

Colonel Lamb at once notified Arnold of the weakness of West Point and the danger of its being taken by *finesse*, a catastrophe for which Arnold at once began to prepare

the way by detaching men from the slender garrison, and by opening new lines of communication with the enemy. In vain did Lamb protest at the withdrawal of two hundred men to cut firewood for the winter. By the middle of September the post was in a position where it could hardly have resisted a determined attack.

The "horse trader," as Arnold's enemies loved to call him, now had something to trade with, and, as commander of a district, he also had the authority and the opportunity to send flags of truce through the lines; but for the success of his plan it was doubly necessary not to arouse suspicion, and his regular military correspondence went through the hands of a watchful secretary. Hence it was with difficulty that he could communicate with the British, though he felt it necessary to come to a distinct understanding as to the price before he delivered the goods. He pushed in every direction; he asked Lafayette to give him the names of his spies in New York City, so that their intelligence might come up through West Point, a request which Lafayette very pro-

perly refused; he tried to initiate a system of passing refugees through the lines, but quickly discovered that Governor Clinton did not recognize the right of the military to deal with citizens of New York in this way. He therefore, on August 17, wrote to Governor Clinton to say that Joshua Smith desired passes for certain women who thought they could find friends beyond the lines. Clinton replied that such applications had hitherto gone through "the person administering the government," and that few flags were granted by the state, and then only after consulting the commanding officer. This episode aroused Varick's suspicions and on the twenty-fourth he wrote to Colonel Benson, Clinton's aide, to find out the practice in such matters, and to test Smith's truthfulness.

Arnold next attempted to hold an interview with Colonel Beverly Robinson, of the British army, within the American lines. Robinson was a Tory, — in fact the owner of the house occupied by Arnold as headquarters, — and a refugee in New York. Robinson wrote to Arnold proposing a meeting, prima-

rily to consider the status of his own estates within the American lines, but also to discuss the possibility of peace. Arnold dictated a letter in return which suggested a correspondence or a meeting, and Franks testifies below that Varick told him, September 18, that he had remonstrated against such relations with a person "very obnoxious to the state of New York;" whereupon Arnold allowed Varick to alter the text of the letter. Varick's knowledge of this correspondence and the passage of flags had to be neutralized, and Arnold felt himself compelled to say that Robinson was seeking an interview with a view to peace; whereupon Colonel Lamb remonstrated and informed Arnold that he had better consult Washington. Under this pressure Arnold wrote to Washington, who practically forbade any such communication.

It seems probable that Varick's quick suspicion of Robinson—for at that time he had none of Arnold—contributed greatly to prevent the first-hand understanding which Arnold was so eager to secure. At any rate, he now bent his energies toward a personal

meeting with a British officer, — “a man of my own mensuration,” as he had stipulated in his correspondence with Clinton, — and André was designated.

Of the numerous “Gustavus” letters of Arnold to Anderson the only one that has ever been printed was written August 30, 1780, and turned up after André’s execution, in the hands of General Parsons of the American army. Of the circumstances and fate of this letter very little was known until the discovery of the Varick papers, in which appears a long deposition by one William Heron, to the effect that he went to West Point to ask Arnold “for a flag of truce to go to Kingsbridge,” — in itself rather a suspicious request, — and that Arnold kept him waiting for two hours and then gave him a sealed letter, August 30, 1780, which he said had been left in his hands to forward to New York; and which he asked Heron to deliver. “I was well persuaded,” says Heron, “I was detained there while he was writing it,” and his suspicions were further aroused because of “the circumspection the General observed lest Colonel Varick should see the

letter, or hear him (the General) giving me the charge concerning it."

So concerned was this sturdy patriot at the character of the letter that he took it to New York and then brought it back to General Parsons, to whom he delivered it on September 10. Parsons afterward testified that he forgot to forward it to Washington until after the execution of André, against whom it would have been significant evidence. This is the often-printed "Gustavus letter," in which the high-minded Arnold was attempting to restore peace to a distracted country through a personal interview in which "the risks and profits of the copartnership may be fully and clearly understood." It was a letter which ought to have aroused the suspicions of any person into whose hands it fell. Arnold speedily became aware that it had gone astray, for he let Varick know of its existence, and at once began writing a series of letters to Colonel Sheldon, who was in command of the troops on the front, and to other officers, to receive a person named John Anderson coming through the British lines, and to forward him to his headquar-

ters. André, supposing that all was arranged, wrote direct to Sheldon a letter in which he says: "Should I not be allowed to go, the officer who is to command the escort, between whom and myself no distinction need be made, can speak on the affair." Knowledge of this letter was soon so widely dissipated that Arnold found himself obliged to write to Washington about it; but as no John Anderson presented himself, the whole thing went over.

In a letter of September 7, 1780 — which, with others of this interesting correspondence, is to be found only in the Varick papers—Arnold says: "I will write to General Parsons on the subject, and you need not apprehend any difficulty, as we are on the most friendly footing." This refers to an attempt to open a new channel of intelligence, on the pretense of buying some articles for ladies' use in New York. Parsons was a man already under some suspicion. More than a year earlier, in May, 1779, he wrote to Colonel John Lamb asking whether he had heard allegations of his holding correspondence with the enemy; and there are



some entries in Clinton's papers which have led to the suspicion that Parsons was at this time in British pay. At any rate he put no obstacle in the way of Arnold's plans.

As the attempts to meet Beverley Robinson and to bring André through the lines were both unsuccessful, the next step was to secure an interview with one or the other between the lines of the two combatants. On September 11, Arnold went down to Dobbs's Ferry, where André and Robinson were actually waiting for him, but was fired on by British boats and barely escaped with his life. Robinson then came up on the *Vulture* and attempted to open the correspondence with which Varick so interfered.

Notwithstanding the efforts which had now been going on for several weeks, the desired interview had not been secured; but Washington now crossed the river on his way to Hartford, and the time was favorable for a final and successful attempt. For this purpose Arnold made use of Joshua Hett Smith; and the Varick papers throw a new light upon the character of that man and his relation to the plot. Smith subsequently saved

his neck by what seemed like a frank statement of his whole connection with Arnold, and the vehement assertion that he neither felt nor had reason to feel any suspicion that the negotiations were directed against his country. The Varick papers, however, show Smith in a new light, for they reveal an intimacy with Arnold from the time of his coming to West Point.

Joshua Hett Smith was a member of a Tory family. His brother was at this very time a refugee in New York, but he remained within the lines and had rendered some small service to the subsistence officers at West Point. Nevertheless, Varick from his arrival suspected and hated the man, — all the more because he seemed to have some occult influence over Arnold. Among the most valuable papers in this volume are the letters and testimony relative to this episode. It appears that on August 24, in his letter to Benson with regard to the use of flags, Varick took occasion to inquire as to the character of Smith, because he seemed not to be telling the truth to Arnold. "The General thinks well of Smith. I must con-

fess that the conduct of the family will not permit me to do so, and I have told the General so." The answer to this letter did not reach Varick until September 19. Benson replied: "From the conduct of his connections and his own loose character, I cannot persuade myself to think him entitled to the fullest confidence." This answer confirmed Varick's suspicions, and on September 21, learning that Arnold had gone to Smith's house (where, as a matter of fact, he was then conferring with André), Varick and Franks decided that they must resign unless Mrs. Arnold would use her influence upon her husband to discontinue the connection, — a step which she promised to take.

Two days later, however, Smith reappeared — as they were soon to know, on his return from escorting André homeward — and the fiery young secretary found an opportunity to pay his respects to Arnold's friend. By pre-arrangement a quarrel was put upon Smith, ostensibly because he spoke disparagingly of paper money, — actually because he ventured to say that a good peace might have been made with the Eng-

lish in 1778. The quarrel rose to such a height that Mrs. Arnold at last interposed; and after dinner, Varick says: "I cursed Smith as a damned rascal, a scoundrel, and a spy;" while Arnold insisted "that if he asked the devil to dine with him the gentlemen of his family should be civil to him," and added that "he was always ready to receive advice from the gentlemen of his family, but, by God, would not be dictated to by them." Arnold was so hard pressed, however, that he finally promised to have nothing to do with Smith, whom, indeed, he had already used and was about to throw away. There seems little doubt that, had the negotiations lasted much longer, these two young men would have driven Arnold to bay on the question of his relation with Smith.

The connection of Smith with the André episode was unknown to Varick at this time, but subsequent revelations showed that at Arnold's direct and pressing request, rowed by two of his own tenants (one of whom was coerced into this task by Arnold's threat to treat him as a Tory), Smith went on board

the ship *Vulture* at night and brought off Major André September 21, in his character of John Anderson. Contrary to André's expectations, Arnold, who came to meet him, professed himself unable to get him back, and took him to Smith's house, where he remained with Arnold throughout the twenty-second. During that day, however, two guns, which Arnold, in order to keep up appearances, had been compelled to send down the river to Colonel Livingston, opened fire on the *Vulture* and compelled her to drop down stream, so that on the second night again André could not be sent back.

He therefore started, under Smith's guidance, to reach New York by land. Before noon of the next day, September 23, he was captured by three irregular militia-men. But for the objection of Talmadge, to whom Arnold had written a suspicious letter, he would have been sent to Arnold's headquarters. As it was, through the blunder of still another officer, on September 25 Arnold received letters announcing that André had been captured, bearing papers purporting to be from Arnold. Washington was on the

point of reaching the Robinson House, and Arnold had just time to make a communication to his wife and to be set down the river by boatmen whom he had retained by an adroit correspondence with the Commander-in-Chief, and to take refuge on the *Vulture*.

Not only had Varick no part in or knowledge of André's mission, but these papers show that on the twenty-fifth of September, though in the Robinson House, he was ill and in bed. Except a brief letter from Alexander Hamilton, who was also on the spot, we have had little knowledge of the details of that fateful day until the discovery of the present papers, and especially the interesting letter to his sister, which (found incomplete in the papers) is printed in the Second Part of this volume.

This evidence throws new light on the question of the responsibility of Mrs. Arnold, who, still little more than a girl, and with a six months' old baby in her care, was thrown into a state little short of lunacy. Varick says: "Raving, mad to see him, with her hair dishevelled and flowing about her neck — she seized me by the hand with

this, to me distressing, address and a wild look: 'Colonel Varick, have you ordered my child to be killed?' — she exclaimed, 'No, General Arnold will never return, he is gone, he is gone forever!' — poor, distressed, unhappy, frantic, and miserable lady." Washington, on his return from West Point, did all in his power to soothe this wretched woman.

Many years later the biographer of Aaron Burr gave currency to the statement that Mrs. Arnold a few days afterwards confessed to the wife of a British officer (later Mrs. Aaron Burr) that this behavior was nothing but a comedy; that she had not only known of the impending treason, but in fact had drawn her husband into it. The roundabout evidence of Davis, who was told by Burr, who was told by Mrs. Burr, who was told by Mrs. Arnold, is accompanied with details of place and circumstance which are manifestly impossible; and Varick's straight-forward testimony makes it unbelievable that she should have been playing a part. Indeed, one of the officers who knew her at the time says bluntly that it was impossible for her

to be trusted with such affairs, since, when she was in a temper, she was in the habit of telling everything that she knew. To be Mrs. Benedict Arnold was in itself a heavy fate, and there is no need to add the guilt of treason.

The crushing effect of the revelation of Arnold's treason is strikingly told in the papers printed in this volume. Franks and Varick were absolutely overwhelmed when the first thought of Arnold's treachery dawned upon them, and actually reproached themselves for venturing to whisper to each other that he was a traitor. It was Washington who at length plainly told them that Arnold was a fugitive, and by a precaution which an honorable man could not resent Varick was placed under arrest. He at once placed his own papers and those of Arnold at the disposal of the authorities, and nobody present on that fateful day appears to have for a moment suspected, notwithstanding his confidential relations to Arnold, that the young man was in the least degree involved in Arnold's plot.

The treason failed, and failed because suc-



cess required the surmounting of every one of a long series of difficulties, particularly in securing the safe and speedy transmission of letters and in arranging for an interview with a British representative. One of the influences which served to confuse, delay, and eventually to upset Arnold's plans was the repugnance of Varick to everything that looked like an understanding with the enemy. If, as there is some reason to believe, Arnold hoped to make a tool of his secretary, he found him not only incorruptible, but vigilant.

Following upon the revelation of the treason three judicial investigations were made. The first of these was André's trial, the record of which, published at the time and many times reprinted since, does not in any way refer to Varick. It is a curious fact that the members of the court were careful not to put questions to André—already plainly a doomed man—which might seem to require him to implicate other people, outside of his conference with Arnold and his stay in Smith's house. The second court martial, that of Joshua Hett Smith, occupied no less

than seventeen sessions, and did not appear in print until 1866. Here again the trial was far from searching: there was no adequate prosecution, no proper examination of the witnesses against Smith, and documentary evidence, which apparently might easily have been obtained and which would probably have hung Smith, was not presented; nor was Varick called upon to testify to Smith's suspicious behavior at the Robinson House. Smith conducted his own defense, put in elaborate testimony of his loyalty, and was acquitted. Immediately re-arrested by the state authorities, he was held for trial for many months; but escaped to New York.

The third of these investigations is the Varick court of inquiry, the actual trial occupying but two days, November 4 and 5. Although the romantic episode of André is excluded, the preliminaries of the treason are revealed in a new light and many important testimonies and depositions not heretofore printed are now made available. Varick took the greatest pains in organizing his defense. At the court of inquiry, which he demanded

on September 28, he intended to present general evidence; for, said he, "I mean to make the most of this favorable opportunity, in showing to the world a true portrait of my conduct from the earliest period of the war, from stage to stage, till the memorable 25th Sept. last." Washington sagaciously replied that nobody accused him of disloyalty and nobody was prosecuting, and that the inquiry should be confined to the occurrences at the Robinson House. Varick wrote right and left to his military friends and associates for depositions. His witnesses included not only his intimates, Franks, Dr. Eustis, and Colonel Lamb, but depositions from Schuyler, Parsons, St. Clair, Colonel Harrison, who was Washington's secretary, and other officers. Although the public mind was greatly excited and eager to find accomplices of Arnold, nobody took the opportunity to appear against him, and the reader of this interesting and valuable material must coincide with the unanimous verdict of the court acquitting Varick, and the approval of the Commander-in-Chief upon that finding; the court declaring him "entitled (thro' every

part of his conduct) to a degree of merit which does him great honor as an officer, and particularly distinguishes him as a sincere friend to his country."

Franks, who joined Varick in his request for a court of inquiry and was technically included in the proceedings, brought no separate testimony except a long series of interrogatories to Varick, which simply re-stated Varick's and his own testimony. Although exonerated, Franks remained under the suspicion of the Pennsylvania government, and together with several of his associates was ordered to quit the state. He had for years been the close friend and associate of Arnold, but there is not a scintilla of evidence in any of the courts of inquiry to show that he had the slightest knowledge of Arnold's purposes.

As for Varick, his manly and spirited conduct, and perhaps the skill with which he prepared his defense, attracted the attention of Washington, who secured his appointment as "recording secretary" to arrange the military correspondence of the Commander-in-Chief, a work on which he was engaged several years. His excellent qualities were

speedily recognized by his countrymen in New York, where he settled down and married Miss Maria Roosevelt. In 1784, at the age of thirty-one years, he became Recorder of New York City, then Attorney-General of the state, and in 1789, when only thirty-six years old, he became New York City's first mayor; an office which he held for eleven years. He was for many years President of the Merchants' Bank, and of the American Bible Society. He lived until July 30, 1831. To the day of his death he cherished his transcript of the proceedings of the Court of Inquiry, as a vindication to posterity; a vindication which it now falls to the fortunate lot of The Bibliophile Society to put on permanent record.

ALBERT BUSHNELL HART



PROCEEDINGS  
OF  
THE VARICK COURT OF INQUIRY





THE ROBINSON HOUSE  
ARNOLD'S HEADQUARTERS

This view is from the lawn on the south side. The highest portion to the right was occupied by Arnold. This was the country residence of Major Beverly Robinson mentioned in the Warick papers.

## PROCEEDINGS OF A COURT OF INQUIRY

HELD AT WEST POINT, THE SECOND DAY OF  
NOVEMBER, 1780, IN PURSUANCE OF AN ORDER  
FROM HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL WASHING-  
TON, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE ARMIES OF  
THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, TO MAJOR-  
GENERAL HEATH

### PRESENT

Colonel Van Schaick, *President*.

Lieutenant-Colonel Cobb, Lieutenant-Col- } *Mem-*  
onel Dearborn, Major Reid, Captain Cox, } *bers.*

The Court being convened, the President

**THE ROBINSON HOUSE  
ARNOLD'S HEADQUARTERS**

This view is from the lawn on the south side. The highest portion to the right was occupied by Arnold. This was the country residence of Colonel Beverly Robinson, mentioned in the Varick papers.



## PROCEEDINGS OF A COURT OF INQUIRY

HELD AT WEST POINT, THE SECOND DAY OF  
NOVEMBER, 1780, IN PURSUANCE OF AN ORDER  
FROM HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL WASHING-  
TON, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE ARMIES OF  
THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, TO MAJOR-  
GENERAL HEATH

### PRESENT

Colonel Van Schaick, *President*.

Lieutenant-Colonel Cobb, Lieutenant-Col- } *Mem-*  
onel Dearborn, Major Reid, Captain Cox, } *bers.*

The Court being convened, the President

produced the Orders of Major-General Heath for the sitting thereof, which, being read, are as follows :

*Headquarters, West Point,  
Tuesday, October 31, 1780.*

#### MAJOR-GENERAL HEATH'S MORNING ORDERS

Lieutenant-Colonel Varick and Major Franks, late of General Arnold's family, having requested of his Excellency General Washington, a Court of Inquiry, to ascertain the part they acted relative to the transactions of General Arnold, and his Excellency having been pleased to signify his pleasure that an Inquiry be made accordingly, a Court of Inquiry is to sit on Thursday next at nine o'clock in the morning, at the Court Martial Room at West Point to examine into the conduct of those gentlemen in their connection with the late Major-General Arnold during his command at West Point, and relative to his desertion to the enemy.

Colonel Van Schaick, President, Lieutenant-Colonels Cobb and Dearborn, Major Reid and Captain Dunscomb, members.

All evidences and persons concerned to attend.

*Headquarters, West Point,  
Wednesday, November 1, 1780.*

Captain Cox, of the Jersey Line, is appointed member of the Court of Inquiry mentioned in yesterday's Orders, *vice* Captain Dunscomb, absent.

#### EVENING ORDERS

*Headquarters, West Point,  
November 2, 1780.*

The Court of Inquiry appointed in the Orders of the 31st ultimo will sit to-morrow morning, ten o'clock, at the President's quarters.

All persons concerned are to attend.

*The Court met pursuant to Orders and adjourned till to-morrow morning at 9 o'clock.*

West Point, in 1780, showing where the great chain  
was stretched across the Hudson River.

*Saturday, November 3, 1780. — The Court  
met pursuant to adjournment.*

Lieutenant-Colonel Richard Varick ap-  
peared before the Court and addressed them  
as follows, to wit :

*Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Court of  
Inquiry:*

I now appear before you thro' the indul-  
gence of his Excellency the Commander-in-  
Chief on a subject which involved not only  
the most important interests of the United  
States of America, but especially and very  
intimately those of the State of New York ;

and which still affects my dearest object in life, *a fair reputation*.

I come not before you as a wrong-doer, charged with misconduct, but conscious of no crime during a period of above five years' variegated duty in the service of my country. I come to you now as a petitioner, suing for justice to a once fair and unblemished character; which thro' the infamous perfidy and horrid treachery of the late Major-General Arnold (of inglorious memory) *in attempting to betray into the enemy's hands the post at West Point and its dependencies, and in his desertion to the enemy*, stands unhappily impeached of, and exposed to, odious suspicions of crimes of the deepest dye: those of treason, or misprisions of treason, from the designing, the envious, the disingenuous and uninformed of my fellow-countrymen and fellow-citizens.

It is a justifiable and laudable ambition, and a wish which I believe to be natural to all honest men who have served their country with conscious fidelity and integrity, that not only their reputations may remain fair and unimpeached, but that their merits may

be made known, at least to their contemporaries, with deserved applause.

It is peculiarly so to a young man who is rising in life and who has served his country faithfully in a subordinate capacity, and has fair prospects of receiving further marks of confidence from, and who from his merit alone can hope for the attention of, his countrymen and fellow-citizens.

As such a character, I trust, I do appear before you. Unfortunately, however, my reputation, thro' no misconduct of my own, but by the baseness of a parricide, is betrayed into the most distressing and disagreeable reproach, from which, I hope— nay I do confidently expect — that this Court, on a proper representation of facts, supported by honorable and incontestable testimony, will fully exculpate and rescue it.

It may be necessary to inform you, that being deeply impressed with an affecting sense of my unhappy situation, by reason of the treachery and baseness of Mr. Arnold, and also with a proper consideration of the duties I owe to my parents, who in the early days of my youth instructed me to tread the



pleasing path of virtue and uprightness, who for their warm attachment to the rights of their injured country have suffered many personal and exemplary cruelties and indignities, as well as great losses of property from the enemy, and who now in the decline of life look up to the virtues and the merits of their children as the flattering rewards of their early anxious hopes and cares and the happy consolation of their declining years, and prompted also by duty and regard to affectionate brothers and sisters and a happy circle of relations and friends, who wish well to their country, and who feel themselves deeply interested in the honorable applause or unfavorable opinion of my countrymen and fellow-citizens on my public conduct; urged, I say, by these cogent motives and a full conviction of the rectitude of my intentions and actions as well as a consciousness of some merits, I did on the 28th day of September last, at Robinson's House, solicit his Excellency General Washington to order a Court-martial or a Court of Inquiry on my past conduct, to convene as soon as my impaired health would bear the fatigues inci-

dent thereto, that I might wipe off from my reputation the odious reproach and suspicions, into which my unhappy connection with the guilty Arnold has traduced it.

I was also prompted to this request by a sense of the duty which I owe to myself, as well as in honor and respect to the State of New York, of which I profess myself a subject, and which from my past experience and apparent good conduct in public life had a right to expect my future services.

As my conduct in the army and since my dismissal by Congress, prior to my joining Mr. Arnold's military family, may form a very important part of the evidence strongly presumptive of my innocence or guilt in the present case, I hope you will be in opinion that testimony thereof will be of some importance and necessary to enable you from the circumstantial evidence, which alone can be offered to you, in the professed and pointed subject of your inquiries, to form a competent and just decision on the line of my conduct since I joined Mr. Arnold as a volunteer, and his secretary, and also that it will be necessary and proper to evince to

my countrymen and fellow-citizens the true tenor of my language and actions from the commencement of the war to the day of my joining him, and to show to them my indefatigable and unintermitted exertions thro' every period of my service in the army, prior thereto, to promote the weal of my injured country.

I trust that you will bear with patience the prolixity of this business, when you reflect that the most valuable object,—a brother soldier's once fair and unimpeached reputation, is suspended for public admiration or reproach, and his conduct for acquittal or condemnation, on the management and issue of this Inquiry, and on the manner and terms in which it may be expressed in your report to his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, and thro' his orders to my countrymen and fellow-citizens.

Let me therefore claim your indulgence and candor while I introduce to you full evidence of my approved conduct and patriotism, from the earliest commencement of the war and especially from the 28th June or 1st of July, 1775, when I entered the service of

my country as a Captain in General McDougall's regiment, and secretary to Major-General Schuyler's separate command, until the 25th day of September last, when General Arnold joined the enemy, and from that to the present day.

In order to render the course of the professed subjects of your inquiries into my conduct the more easy, and to enable you to form your judgment thereon with greater precision, I will, with your permission, divide the objects for testimony of my conduct prior thereto into three different periods.

The first, to commence from the earliest date of the war, or my entering the service as a Captain, on the 28th day of June, 1775, and to end with the 25th day of September, 1776, when I was appointed deputy Muster-Master-General to the Northern Army.

The second, to commence on the 25th of September, 1776, and to end with the 12th of January, 1780, when I was dismissed by Congress.

The third, to comprehend the intermediate time between the 12th of January and the 13th of August last, when I unhappily en-

tered into Mr. Arnold's family. In this, also, to be comprised the proofs of my motives for rejoining the army.

My character and conduct being well supported and established by proper evidence in these three periods, I trust that you will be enabled to enter with advantage upon the professed important and pointed object for your investigation, to wit :

Whether I was, or was not, a principal in, or advised of, the perfidious and treacherous transactions of Mr. Arnold with the enemy ; or of his desertion or intentions to desert to them on the morning of the twenty-fifth of September last.

This being done, another and last object for your investigation and inquiry will present itself, to wit :

To inform yourself whether I was, or was not, an agent in, or conniving at, Mr. Arnold's abuse of power in his embezzlement of the public stores and provisions.

On the three first periods anterior to my connection with Mr. Arnold, I am enabled by very abundant written testimony to prove to your fullest satisfaction and my own

honor, the unreproached, proper, uniform, active, and patriotic line of conduct which I observed before I entered into, and while I was in, the army ; as also since my dismissal on the 12th of January to the 13th of August last, and my motives for rejoining the army, which under my circumstances could not be done with propriety in any other way than in the manner I did enter the late General Arnold's family.

With respect to the line of my conduct between the 13th August, when I joined Arnold's family, till the 25th September, when he deserted to the enemy, I trust I shall be able to furnish you with such combined circumstantial evidence as will fully evince to you, as far as negatives of so peculiar a nature are capable of proof, *that I had not the least agency in, nor could have suspicion of, the treasonable and perfidious conduct of Mr. Arnold in his infernal and destructive designs against the rights of his country in attempting to betray into the enemy's hands the fortresses in the Highlands ; nor of his desertion or intentions to desert to the enemy, till some hours after his departure.*

And from my actions and language since I joined his family, and a variety of other circumstances, I expect to convince your judgments that I was incapable of the horrid crime of being an agent in a design to sacrifice my country, or of concealing the most distant attempts thereto in any other person. But that during the short period of my service with him, until the day of his desertion, I acted the part of an indefatigable, attentive and circumspect officer, and of a sincere friend to my country ; and that from that day to this I still have continued a uniformity of conduct.

As to the last object of your Inquiry, I do fully expect that I shall prove to your satisfaction that not a single article of any kind of public stores was drawn from the public Magazine on my order, except two hundred and twenty-five pounds of beef, five neat's [ox] tongues, two barrels of damaged Indian meal and one hundred weight of rendered tallow for candles for the use of Mr. Arnold's military family ; that all the other orders were issued from his own hand, or from Major Frank's by his direction, and that his

transactions in the sales of any public stores were done in a private manner and entered in a private memorandum book.

And I hope further to prove to you that I never was acquainted with the private arrangements of Mr. Arnold's family; that I positively declared that I had not joined him to be his purveyor, steward or caterer; that I refused to act in either capacity, and that I was not informed of what stores he had for his own use, either public or private, except some flour, bread and fish received from Fishkill and receipted for by myself, and except, also, one hogshead of spirits.

Having thus given you the heads of the matters I have in my power to prove, and which I mean to insist on, I shall now by leave of the Court proceed to offer testimony in support of my allegations.

Therefore I beg leave to offer to you in evidence a number of papers to evince to you what my character and conduct were, prior to, as well as since, my first entering the army in 1775, until my dismissal by Congress on the 12th of January last.





### THE VERPLANCK HOUSE

This house is famous as the headquarters of Baron Steuben, when the American Army was encamped in the vicinity of Newburgh, and also as the house in which the Society of the Cincinnati was organized in 1783.

## I

### DEPOSITION OF MAJOR FISH

West Point, }  
State of New York. } ss

Major Nicholas Fish of the 2nd New York Regiment being sworn, deposeth and saith, that he has been personally and very intimately acquainted with Lieutenant-Colonel Richard Varick since some time in the year 1772; that they served as fellow-students in the office of the Honorable John Morin Scott, Esquire, at the study of the law; that they continued to live together as fellow-students from that time until some time in the year 1774, when the said Lieutenant-

Colonel Varick was, after a public examination, admitted to the Bar, as a practitioner of the law in all the courts of the then colony of New York, with an unexceptionable character; that thereafter the said Lieutenant-Colonel Varick continued in the office aforesaid in co-partnership in the practice of the law with the said John Morin Scott, Esquire, until some time in June or July, 1775, when he entered the army as a captain and joined the military family of Major-General Schuyler, as his secretary.

And the deponent further saith, that he was well acquainted with the political as well as moral character of Lieutenant-Colonel Varick ever since the commencement of the dispute and war between Great Britain and America, and that the said Lieutenant-Colonel Varick did on all occasions discover the most warm and spirited attachment to the rights of his injured country, and that he always approved himself and was respected as a man of virtue, probity and integrity.

That he has been pretty well informed of the language and line of conduct of Lieutenant-Colonel Varick since he has been in the

Veratoga Octo: 15 ~ 77000

y I received a letter  
in Informing me that  
an Inquiry into  
that It would probably  
and requesting  
in my testimony to  
bead with me - nothing  
state of health prevents  
I consider It however  
work on me to Inform  
you in the Court

Amos probity & virtue, so I do still  
believe him to be -

Yours  
J. W.

Thomson Medford

Stamphord Vermont

Ph: Smyth

President of the Court for Inquiring  
into the conduct of Lt Colo Varick

Scrutator Oct: 15 ~ 1700

Sir

Yesterday I received a letter  
from Colo Varick informing me that  
he had introduced an inquiry into  
his conduct, and that it would probably  
soon take place, and requesting me  
to attend to give my testimony that  
he has long resided with me - nothing  
but a very ill state of health prevents  
my attending, I consider it however  
a duty incumbent on me to inform  
you Sir, and thro you the Court

That in the year 1775, ~~When~~ Richard  
Vanick Esq. was appointed a Captain in  
one of the N York Battalions, - That when  
the command of the northern Department  
was conferred on me, I appointed him  
my Secretary, - That he served in that  
Office until the Autumn of 1776. when  
he was appointed D. Master Marshal and  
had the rank of Lieut Colo. conferred on  
him in which Office he remained until  
the Master Marshal Department was  
abolished. - That I reflect with Satisfaction  
on the propriety of that Gentlemans  
Conduct in every point of view, that

I had such entire Confidence in his  
Attachment to the Glorious cause  
we are engaged in that I concealed  
nothing from him, and never once had  
reason to repent that I had reposed  
so much trust in him - that I am  
so far from believing him capable  
of betraying his Country, - that I even  
testimony on oath was given against him  
It would gain little credit with me  
unless the persons giving It, were of  
fair and unblemished Character -  
upon the whole As I have always  
found him to be a man of strict

an entire confidence in his  
and to the glorious cause  
engaged I'm that I concealed  
from him, and never once he  
repent that I had repored  
trust in him - that I am  
now believing him, capable  
ing his Country, - that I never  
on oath was given against him  
gain little credit with me  
a persons giving it, were of  
unblemished Character -  
whole - But I have always  
him to be a man of strict

army, and has every reason to believe that they have been regular, uniform and proper, and that his exertions have been indefatigable and unremitted in discharge of the several offices he has held from Congress and his Generals.

And further the deponent saith not.

NICHOLAS FISH

Sworn before me at West Point this 5th day of November, 1780.

W. HEATH, *Major-General*.

## II

COPY OF A LETTER FROM THE LATE MAJOR-GENERAL SCHUYLER ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE COURT FOR INQUIRING INTO THE CONDUCT OF LIEUTENANT-COLONEL VARICK

Saratoga, October 15, 1780.

SIR, —

Yesterday I received a letter from Colonel Varick informing me that he had entreated an inquiry into his conduct and that it would probably soon take place, and requesting me to attend to give my testimony, as he



Colonel Richard Parrish, of the  
the late General Arnold's family, having re-  
quested me to declare what I know concern-  
ing his behavior on the day of Arnold's  
flight, and on the days subsequent which  
I was at West Point -

In justice to the said  
Colonel Parrish, I think myself bound to say  
that on the discovery of Arnold's treachery  
there was not a single circumstance to induce  
a suspicion that either he, or Major David  
Stanhope, was knowing or privy to the flight  
or flight of Arnold. That Col. Parrish and  
Major Stanhope gave ready and decided an-  
swers to such questions respecting Arnold as  
were asked them, and willingly produced all  
papers belonging to him that were in their  
possession or that they could find - a particu-  
lar instance of which was exhibited by Col.  
Parrish two days after the first discovery.  
By a critical search in a trunk where  
Arnold's clothes were deposited, he found the  
plans and profiles of each work at West  
Point, in a separate paper, which he instantly  
brought to His Excellency General Mifflin.  
It was, until that time, supposed that Arnold  
had carried off these papers with him.

Also, That I frequently examined  
the papers detected upon Major Andrie,  
all which were written in Arnold's own  
hand; And that nothing appeared upon Major  
Andrie's trial before the general officers



of the army, of whom I was one, to prove  
that he had ever been at Robinsons house,  
but he declared that the meeting at Smiths  
house was his first personal communica-  
tion with him.

Wm  
Mrs - Genl Anthony

Personally appeared before me the undersigned  
Joseph Shum, and made solemn oath to  
the truth of the foregoing recitation

Devereux W. Greere  
Sept 22 / 80 Mayor of New

has long resided with me. Nothing but a very ill state of health prevents my attending. I consider it, however, a duty incumbent on me to inform you, Sir, and thro' you the Court, that in the year 1775, Richard Varick, Esquire, was appointed a Captain in one of the New York battalions; that when the command in the Northern Department was conferred on me, I appointed him my secretary; that he served in that office until the autumn of 1776, when he was appointed deputy Muster-Master-General, and had the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel conferred on him, in which office he remained until the muster-master department was abolished.

That I reflect, with satisfaction, on the propriety of that gentleman's conduct in every point of view; that I had such entire confidence in his attachment to the glorious cause we are engaged in that I concealed nothing from him, and never once had reason to repent that I had reposed so much trust in him; that I am so far from believing him capable of betraying his country, that even if testimony on oath was given against him, it would gain little credit with me, unless the

persons giving it were of fair and unblemished characters.

Upon the whole, as I have always found him to be a man of strict honor, probity and virtue, so I do still believe him to be.

I am, Sir, your most obedient and humble servant,

PH. SCHUYLER

### III

COPY OF LIEUTENANT-COLONEL VARICK'S OATH  
OF ALLEGIANCE, &C., TO THE UNITED STATES,  
AND MAJOR-GENERAL CONWAY'S CERTIFICATE  
THEREOF

City and County of Albany, }  
State of New York. } ss

I, Richard Varick, do acknowledge the United States of America to be free, independent and sovereign States, and declare the people thereof owe no allegiance or obedience to George the Third, King of Great Britain; and I do renounce, refuse and abjure any allegiance or obedience to him, and I do swear that I will, to the utmost of my power, support, maintain and

defend the said United States against the said King George the Third, his heirs and successors, and his and their abettors and adherents, and will serve the said United States in the office of deputy Muster-Master-General for the Northern Department, which I now hold, with fidelity, according to the best of my skill and understanding.

RICHARD VARICK

I certify that Colonel Richard Varick took before me the oath of allegiance to the United States of America, and abjuration and renunciation of obedience or allegiance to George the Third, King of Great Britain, and also the oath for the faithful execution of the office of deputy Muster-Master-General for the Northern Department, according to the resolutions of Congress of February the third, 1778.

THOMAS CONWAY, *Major-General.*

*Albany, March, 1778.*

## IV

### DEPOSITION OF CAPTAIN HENRY SEWALL

State of New Jersey, } ss  
Bergen County. }

Captain Henry Sewall, of the 12th Massachusetts Regiment, being duly sworn, deposeseth and saith :

That since July, 1778, he has been well acquainted with Lieutenant-Colonel Richard Varick, late deputy Commissary-General of musters, and that from that time till in January, 1780, he acted as deputy commissary of musters under him; that during that period of service and through the whole course of his acquaintance with him, he discovered in the said Lieutenant-Colonel Varick the most indefatigable and pointed personal labor in, and close attention to, the duties of his office and to the regularity and propriety of duty done by the different deputies under his immediate superintendence and direction.

That during the campaign, 1779, when thro' want of proper provision for his depu-

ties many of them had resigned, the said Lieutenant-Colonel Varick did, besides the ordinary duties of his office imposed on him by Congress, on several occasions personally and unassisted by any deputy, muster one or two divisions of the army; that the regular plan of mustering ordered by Congress and which he had pointedly prescribed to his deputies might not be infringed; in confidence, that Congress would make a proper provision, which had long heretofore been requested from them by memorial.

That during the campaign, 1778, after July, Lieutenant-Colonel Varick directed the musters of the troops from New York and the Eastern States and the Artillery, as well as those at the posts on the Hudson and Mohawk Rivers, and, in 1779, those of Pennsylvania, Connecticut and Massachusetts, as well as the park of artillery; that during that period of service, he firmly believes the said Lieutenant-Colonel Varick acquitted himself of his official trust with faithfulness, propriety, great personal attention, unwearied assiduity, and to the general satisfaction of the army.

And further the deponent saith not.

H. SEWALL

The within deposition was sworn before me the 16th day of October, 1780.

ROBERT HOWE, *Major-General*.

## V

### CERTIFICATE OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL PARSONS

I became acquainted with Colonel Richard Varick about May or June, 1778. He then, and until the office was laid aside by Congress, acted as deputy Muster-Master-General, and I had opportunity to observe his conduct in office and to acquire a knowledge of his private and political character; in his office he was attentive, assiduous, faithful, and gave general satisfaction. His private character rendered him particularly agreeable and greatly respected by the officers of the army, and he was esteemed a gentleman of established principles, firmly pursuing the measures of the country, and always ready

to make every necessary sacrifice to support the independence of the United States; a man of great integrity and abilities, and, during my acquaintance with him, I have had just reason to believe he merited this opinion of him.

SAMUEL H. PARSONS,  
*Brigadier-General.*

16th October, 1780.

## VI

### CERTIFICATE OF MAJOR-GENERAL ST. CLAIR

This is to certify that I have had a personal acquaintance with Lieutenant-Colonel Varick since the year 1776; that during that time I have known him in different stations, first as secretary to General Schuyler, whose confidence he seemed fully to possess, afterwards as Muster-Master-General in the Northern Department; that I have attended at his musters, in which he ever appeared to be anxious to do justice to the United States, and from the whole tenor of his conduct, so far as it came under my



observation, down to the present hour, he appeared to be a firm friend to his country.

Given under my hand, at the camp at Totawa, October 17, 1780.

A. ST. CLAIR, *Major-General.*

## VII

### CERTIFICATE OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL PATERSON, ADDRESSED TO THE COURT OF INQUIRY ON THE CONDUCT OF COLONEL VARICK

Camp Totawa, Oct. 19, 1780.

I hereby certify on honor that I have been particularly acquainted with Colonel Varick ever since June, 1777, and have ever found him to be the diligent, industrious officer. He always appeared to be sincerely concerned for the cause of America, and never, by actions or words, gave me the least suspicion to the contrary.

JOHN PATERSON

Having thus gone thro' the evidence on the two first periods from the commencement of the dispute and war between Great

Britain and America, and of my entering the service of my country, till my dismissal by Congress on the 12th of January last, in which, I trust, I have by written testimony, fully supported my allegations, I shall proceed to prove the propriety and uniformity of my conduct, as a good citizen and friend to my country, after my dismissal by Congress until the 13th of August when I unfortunately joined the treacherous and perfidious Arnold.

## VIII

### DEPOSITION OF THE REVEREND DYRCK ROMEYN

State of New Jersey, }  
Bergen County.       } ss

The Reverend Dyrck Romeyn, of Hackensack, in the County of Bergen and State of New Jersey, being duly sworn, deposeth and saith:

That being driven from his own habitation by the frequent incursions of the enemy, he did, some time in December last, take up

his abode at the house of Mr. John Varick, father of Lieutenant-Colonel Richard Varick at Hackensack; that he had some acquaintance with said Lieutenant-Colonel Richard Varick previous to the commencement of the present war, arising from their being born and in part educated at the same place; that since December last he has had a perfect and intimate knowledge of the political language and conduct of said Lieutenant-Colonel Varick and of his disposition to serve his country since his discharge from the army in January last; that he has frequently conversed with him and has been an observer of his conduct from the time of his discharge from the army until the 12th day of August last, when the said Lieutenant-Colonel Varick left Hackensack to join the late General Arnold.

That he does with the utmost pleasure and satisfaction declare that before and since the twenty-third of March last, when the enemy surprised the inhabitants of the town of Hackensack, the said Lieutenant-Colonel Varick did always by his conversation and good example exhort and encourage the inhabit-

ants of Hackensack, and to the best of his knowledge in other parts of Bergen County, being friends or well affected to the government of these States, as established upon the authority of the people, to abide by their integrity, to persevere in their resistance against the enemy, and not to be discouraged by any apparent advantages the enemy might obtain. That said Lieutenant-Colonel Varick frequently declared to them that the United States of America had resources and power sufficient to expel the enemy from their country, and that although our public affairs appeared discouraging, he made no doubt but we would at last rise superior to every effort of the British or their adherents and abettors against the rights of this country; and that as the Independence of America was a favorite object of the maritime powers of Europe they would never suffer her to fall a sacrifice to the merciless power of Great Britain.

That since the twenty-third of March last the said Lieutenant-Colonel Varick, when at Hackensack (a few nights only excepted) did lodge every night with the few well affected,

who escaped captivity on said twenty-third of March last, and who assembled together and took shelter in some barn, hay barrack or other comparatively safe place, and did such duty as the situation and circumstances of the place required, by mounting guards and going on patrols as a private sentinel almost every second night, and by his salutary advice and services, as well as his spirited and good example to his distressed fellow-citizens, rendered singular services to his country in that quarter, till he left Hackensack in August last.

That the family of Mr. John Varick aforesaid, as well as most of the immediate connections of said Lieutenant-Colonel Varick, are, to the best of the deponent's knowledge, well affected to the government of these States, as established on the authority of the people; that said John Varick has, for his attachment to the cause of his country, suffered in an exemplary manner in both person and property by being dangerously wounded in December, 1776, and being made a prisoner from which he escaped and remained absent from his family until September, 1777, when,

on a visit with his family, he was surprised and again taken prisoner to New York and detained in provost and in the city until some time in October, 1778; and that his family has been frequently plundered and distressed by the enemy; that from the above circumstances and the unrepurchased character and uniform patriotic conduct as well as spirited language and exertions of said Lieutenant-Colonel Varick, on all occasions against the open enemies of the United States and their abettors, and also from his apparent inveteracy against the disaffected who still remained in the country, said deponent was and now is fully and satisfactorily convinced that no well informed person had the least reason to doubt the attachment and integrity of said Lieutenant-Colonel Varick to the cause of the United States of America.

And further the deponent saith not.

D. ROMEYN

Sworn before me this 18th October, 1780.

STIRLING, *Major-General.*



By leave of the Court, I will next offer evidence of the terms tendered to me by, and on which I agreed to join, the late General Arnold; which, as they are fully contained in a letter of the 5th August, from him to me, and in my answer of the 7th to him, and as my motives for rejoining the army are fully explained in a letter written by me on the 14th day of August to Colonel Udny Hay, then deputy Quartermaster-General at Fishkill, I shall forbear making any observations on that part of my conduct, but with leave of the Court, offer in evidence those several original letters in the order of their dates.

## IX

COPY OF A LETTER FROM THE LATE MAJOR-GENERAL ARNOLD, ADDRESSED TO COLONEL RICHARD VARICK AT COLONEL DYE'S, PARAKANIS

*Headquarters, Robinson's House,  
August 5, 1780.*

DEAR SIR,—

I am in want of a secretary, having within a few days been appointed to this command. General Schuyler informed me yesterday that he believed it would be agreeable to you, as the duty would engross only a part of your time and leave a considerable part for you to prosecute your studies, if you chose.

I shall be happy to find the General is not mistaken, being with great regard, dear Sir,

Your obedient, humble servant,

B. ARNOLD

P. S. As this has the appearance of a quiet post, I expect Mrs. Arnold will soon be with me.

The bearer waits your answer. If my proposal should not be agreeable to you, per-



haps you can recommend a gentleman of industry and abilities of your acquaintance.  
— B. A.

X

COPY OF A LETTER FROM LIEUTENANT-COLONEL  
VARICK TO THE LATE MAJOR-GENERAL AR-  
NOLD

Hackensack, New Jersey,  
Monday, 8 o'clock, A. M., August 7, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL, —

Just this moment I am honored with your very polite favor of the 5th inst.

I thank both you and General Schuyler for your politeness and the good opinion you are pleased to entertain of my merit. I am pleased in the opportunity of returning to and continuing in the army till the reduction of New York, and to serve in an office which will not be inconsistent with that course of life which must inevitably be my lot at the close of the war, and that under an officer, than whom none in the army claims greater respect from, and will be more agreeable to, me than yourself. I do therefore readily em-

brace your polite offer, and hope you may not be disappointed in your choice.

The presence of Mrs. Arnold will certainly make our situation in the barren Highlands vastly more agreeable, and I am persuaded will more than compensate for every deficiency of Nature.

As I had no idea of so favorable an opportunity of ever reëntering the army since my dismissal by Congress, I had neglected keeping my clothes in that order which it is necessary to enter the army with. They are now in hand and will be finished in a few days. As soon as this is accomplished I purpose to join you. I expect to be with you by Sunday next. You may be assured, my dear Sir, I shall make as little delay as possible.

Accept my most affectionate well wishes and believe me to be, with sentiments of regard, your most obedient and humble servant,

RICHARD VARICK

*The Honorable Major-General Arnold.*

## XI

COPY OF A LETTER FROM LIEUTENANT-COLONEL VARICK TO COLONEL UDNY HAY, DEPUTY QUARTERMASTER-GENERAL AT FISHKILL

Robinson's House, August 14, 1780.

DEAR COLONEL, —

Fickle Fortune is no less famed for her inconstancy than for the variety of changes it causes in the situation of its votaries, of whom I think this war has made me in every respect one.

After passing a variety of scenes, since the commencement of the war to the last winter, I again became what in less troublesome days we called a private citizen, resolved no more to accustom myself to the inquietudes of military pursuits; but in time to attempt the service of my country in the councils of state, where neither the favors or frowns of Congress would affect my feelings or reputation. But no sooner had I sat down to my desk, when the invaders of our land disturbed my retreat, and deprived me of a valu-

able share of the little property which yet remained my own after *retiring* from public service. Thus was I again reduced to the necessity of becoming a soldier in a more obscure, tho' not less honorable line, — that of a volunteer militiaman, — in which situation I continued, till this day sennight [week], when, wearied and almost worn out by alternate watches, very unexpectedly I received a polite invitation from Major-General Arnold to become a member of his military family.

Convinced that literary attainments were at least improbable, if not impossible, while the enemy possess our capital, so near the place of my residence in New Jersey, and averse to monthly contributions or personal service in the militia of that State, added to the inconveniences of quarterly heavy taxes, to which my disposition was averse and my reduced finances hardly adequate, unless supported by my father, which rendered my situation dependent on relations and consequently unhappy to myself, and loth to retire into the interior parts of our State to take up my books, while my fellow-countrymen were

acting in arms to effect the expulsion of the enemy from our capital, — I say, influenced by these reasons, with other private ones, I accepted of the General's offer, only to continue with him till the reduction of New York, when I chose to quit public employ.

Thus is my hand again become a slave to a military pen which some years' avocation have rendered pretty rusty, and the late militia duty stiff and unmanageable. However, a few weeks will, I hope, restore both to my command.

During my stay here (or I would say in the army) I shall be happy if your indefatigable spirit will afford you a few moments for correspondence. You may be assured of my punctuality.

I mean to pay my devoirs to Mrs. Hay, the first spare moment. In the meantime, pray make my best respects to her, and also those of my sister Jane, who requests them to yourself.

I wish you every happiness, and remain,  
Very affectionately yours,

RICHARD VARICK

I shall here rest the evidence on the three first periods, in confidence that I have sufficiently proved what my conduct and character were, prior to the unhappy day when I joined Arnold, as well as the motives and inducements I had to rejoin the army.

I shall now, with the leave of the Court, enter upon the important and pointed objects of the Inquiry, and offer testimony, both written and living, of Arnold's conduct after I joined him, and of every part of my public conduct during my service under him at Robinson's House, from the 13th August till the day of Arnold's desertion, and from that to the present day.

Arnold's birth-place at Northampton. For many years it was supposed that this house was haunted by some evil spirit.

## XII

COPY OF A LETTER FROM THE LATE MAJOR-  
GENERAL ARNOLD TO HIS EXCELLENCY  
GOVERNOR CLINTON

*Headquarters, Robinson's House,  
August 17, 1780.*

DEAR SIR, —

Joshua Smith, Esquire, of Haverstraw, in a letter of the 13th, applied to me for permits for two women, the one named Catherine John, with five children, and the other Eliza Gerard, with three children, to pass within the enemy's lines.

He informs me that they and their children are in a starving condition here, and that they

have friends with the enemy, who, if they were there, might relieve them.

Sentiments of humanity would induce me to give them permits, if it be not inconsistent with the policy and the laws of the State. I shall, therefore, be very happy to receive your Excellency's advice on this subject, as well as on what line of conduct you wish to be observed, with respect to such inhabitants of this State as may in future apply to me for permits and flags to go to New York.

I beg your answer on the subject, and am, with sentiments of great regard and esteem, your Excellency's most obedient and very humble servant,

B. ARNOLD

*His Excellency, Governor Clinton.*

### XIII

#### COPY OF A LETTER FROM HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR CLINTON TO THE LATE MAJOR-GENERAL ARNOLD

Poughkeepsie, August 22, 1780.

DEAR SIR, —

I have received your favor of the 17th instant.



The practice hitherto pursued in granting passes to any of the inhabitants of this State applying to go within the enemy's lines, has been by application in the first instance to the person administering the government for his consent, which being obtained, the commanding officer of the department has granted his pass for them to proceed. This has prevented, on the one hand, impositions which have been often attempted by persons no ways meriting indulgences or worthy of confidence; on the other, a communication with the enemy at improper seasons, and, if agreeable to you, is the mode I wish to be pursued.

With respect to flags, few pass, and none are ever granted by the authority of the State, without previously consulting the officer commanding the department.

I am, with the highest esteem and respect,  
dear Sir, your most obedient servant,

GEO. CLINTON

*To the Honorable Major-General Arnold.*

## XIV

COPY OF A LETTER FROM LIEUTENANT-COLONEL  
RICHARD VARICK TO LIEUTENANT-COLONEL  
ROBERT BENSON, AIDE-DE-CAMP TO HIS EX-  
CELLENCY GOVERNOR CLINTON

Robinson's House, Aug. 24, 1780.  
10 o'clock, P. M.

DEAR SIR, —

Some time since General Arnold received a letter from Jos. Smith, of the 13th, wherein Smith writes the General as follows :

“The Governor of this State *desired General Howe, when in your command, to grant permits to such women to pass into New York whose husbands and relatives were there, provided they did not return.* This was sound policy as it took so many mouths from us to feed, and loaded the enemy with them. Besides, the object of our war is not to distress women and children. There are a couple of women who are in this predicament with children who are in a starving condition here, and think their friends in the city, if they were there, might relieve them. Motives of

humanity induce me to beg, if consistent, that you would transmit them a pass. Their names are below. I would be happy to hear from you on this subject."

In consequence of this letter from Smith, the General wrote his Excellency Governor Clinton on the subject on the 17th, to which the Governor, in a letter of the 22d inst., written in your hand, authorizes General Arnold to grant passes in the mode I had always understood it to be customary in the State, to wit, by application, in the first instance, to the person administering the government.

On comparison of that part of Smith's letter which I have above scored and the authority given to General Arnold in his Excellency's letter, there seems to be a difference, which, if Smith's representation to the General be really *true*, I cannot reconcile. In his letter to General Arnold, agreeable to my opinion of the matter, he seems to convey the idea of a *discretionary power* to Howe, which I think a little extraordinary, and therefore have doubted whether it was founded in fact. For, as I had always been

informed that the mode mentioned in Governor Clinton's letter was practised, I was surprised that the Governor should have conferred so ample a power to *General Howe*, an utter stranger to the inhabitants of this State, who could not have the means of being well informed of the characters applying to go in. I therefore supposed that Mr. Smith was not well informed on the subject and that the misrepresentation flowed from that source ; especially as the Governor has not, in his of the 17th, conveyed a similar power to Major-General Arnold, whose reputation as a friend to our country was supported by testimonials which General Howe could not adduce in support of his. I know of nothing to be said against the latter but much can be said in favor of the former.

I have political reasons for inquiring into the truth of Mr. Smith's representation. It may be, and I am convinced long since in my own mind, that he wanted information on the subject. But, although General Arnold does conceal his sentiments from me on the subject of his Excellency's reserve of power to him, similar to that *said to be* conferred to

Howe in this respect, yet as a man of sense and sentiment he can't help seeing the difference and feeling himself hurt : the *supposed* reserve conveys an idea of distrust. The General thinks well of Smith. I must confess that the conduct of the family will not permit me to do so, and I've told the General so. I would therefore wish to gain information of what may be his real political character. Perhaps it may be in your power to give it. You may be assured of my confidence as far as may respect you.

Sampson Dyckman does frequently come to General Arnold's headquarters. In his conversation he carries the appearance of a person well attached to our cause, but many hints have been given by a person in command in the army that he is not to be trusted. Whether these insinuations proceed from prejudice or other sinister cause, or whether he is a character capable of so much duplicity, I am at a loss to determine ; I have known him many years ; I never heard anything against him, nor indeed anything in his favor. I know him to be attached to his property and that he will make use of at least

every *fair* means of getting money. I hope he will not be guilty of unfriendly practices to secure property. If he is friendly the General, I believe, would wish to make sure of him in a capacity which may render his services useful to the State. I have promised to make inquiries on the subject, and I believe you can give me some information or get it at Poughkeepsie. I shall be happy to receive it and you may rely on secrecy, whatever the answer may be.

I am, with sentiments of sincere regard and esteem, your friend and very humble servant,

RICHARD VARICK

## XV

COPY OF A LETTER FROM LIEUTENANT-COLONEL  
ROBERT BENSON TO LIEUTENANT-COLONEL  
RICHARD VARICK

Poughkeepsie, September 19, 1780.

DEAR SIR, —

I did not receive your letter of the 24th ult. until yesterday (by post from Albany) or I should have answered it sooner.

Soon after his Excellency the Governor entered upon his office General Gates, who then commanded in the Northern Department, granted permission to several of the inhabitants of Albany (who adhered to the enemy) to pass to New York. On their passage they were stopped at New Windsor by the Governor, who refused to let them proceed, until they had given him their paroles as prisoners of the State to return when demanded, or to send out some of our subjects who were then in close confinement at New York in exchange. Since that time you may be assured, Sir, the constant rule has been, and the several commanding continental officers in this State have constantly understood it to be, in the manner mentioned in his Excellency's letter to General Arnold on that subject. I do not recollect an instance to the contrary. It may be possible that upon some particular occasion General Howe may have been desired by the Governor to use his discretion with respect to particular persons, but I am sure it was not general. Therefore, Mr. Smith's information cannot be well founded, and I have reason

to believe that the Governor's confidence in General Arnold is such that he would not upon any occasion hesitate to confer on him any discretionary power which his predecessors have enjoyed.

I know very little of Mr. Smith's political character. He has always, as far as I have heard, declared himself a whig ; but, from the conduct of his connections and his own loose character, I cannot persuade myself to think him entitled to the fullest confidence, and, if I can judge from appearances, the Governor has little or none in any of the family. With respect to Mr. Dyckman, he appeared to have the good opinion of General Howe's family, and has for some time past been intimate in Colonel Undy Hay's family ; but what his real political character is I cannot take upon myself to determine ; neither do I know any of my acquaintances in this neighborhood who know more of him than I do.

Agreeable to your request I have given you every information in my power on the subjects of your letter, and I trust you will make a proper and prudent use of it.



I am, with sincere friendship and respect,  
dear Sir, your most obedient servant,

ROBERT BENSON

*To Colonel Richard Varick.*

## XVI

CERTIFICATES OF THE HONORABLE BRIGADIER-  
GENERAL SAMUEL H. PARSONS, AND OF MR.  
WILLIAM HERON

This certifies that Mr. William Heron, the subscriber of the following declaration, is a gentleman of unquestionable honor and integrity and an established friend to the cause of his country ; and that the letter referred to is a letter signed *Gustavus*, directed to John Anderson in New York, a copy of which is herewith transmitted.

SAMUEL H. PARSONS,  
*Brigadier-General.*

On the 29th of August last, I arrived at West Point, and made application to General Arnold for a flag of truce, to go to Kingsbridge. The General told me he could not

attend on the business that day, being employed in viewing the state of the works on the Point, but desired me to call at Robinson's House next morning by 8 o'clock and he would dismiss me. I waited on him according to his directions. He intimated (by Colonel Varick) that I must wait two hours before he could dismiss me. I stayed (I believe) a longer time than that. I sat in the room with Colonel Varick, when the General came in and desired the Colonel to write a permit (or a flag) for me, which he did, and the General signed it. The General then retired to his room and immediately sent word to me that he wanted to speak to me. I waited on him, and as soon as I entered the room (he being alone) he asked me if I thought the person with whom I expected to transact my business at the enemy's lines would deliver that letter (meaning a letter he held out to me) to the person to whom it was directed. I answered in the affirmative. He said if I could rely on him he should be obliged to me if I could give him (meaning the person I was to meet) a particular charge with regard to the delivery of the letter. As

soon as I received the letter and viewed the superscription, which was written in a feigned hand, I must confess that I felt a jealousy or a suspicion that I never before experienced concerning any person of his rank. A variety of circumstances concurred to excite that suspicion: such as the very particular and significant manner in which he expressed himself when he delivered me the letter, its being sealed with a wafer, and then with wax, to give it the appearance of a letter which had been broken open for examination (he giving me to understand that that had been the case), which upon examining the wafer I found to be entirely whole. I was well persuaded I was detained there while he was writing it. The foregoing circumstances when combined together were not all sufficient to raise my suspicion equal to the circumspection the General observed lest Colonel Varick should see the letter, or hear him (the General) giving me the charge concerning it. I concluded immediately it must relate to some matters which would not bear the test, else he would not observe so much privacy with regard to the Colonel,

whom I viewed then in place of the General's confidential friend. Considering the impression the foregoing circumstances made on my mind, it will not be thought strange if I deemed it my duty to deliver the letter in question to General Parsons, instead of carrying it where it was directed, which I accordingly did on my return from the lines; and, if I recollect right, I observed to the General that in my opinion Colonel Varick was in no way privy to it, and I am of the same opinion still; and am ready to be qualified under oath, when required, as to the truth of the above and foregoing.

WILLIAM HERON

*The doing in the State of  
Connecticut, 26th October, 1780.*

## XVII

COPY OF A LETTER REFERRED TO IN THE FORE-  
GOING DECLARATION AND SIGNED "GUSTAVUS"

August 30, 1780.

SIR, —

On the 24th inst. I received a note from you, without date, in answer to mine of the

7th July ; also a letter from your house [*Sir Henry Clinton's Headquarters*] of the 24th July in answer to mine of the 15th, with a note from B. [*Sir Henry Clinton*] of the 30th July, with an extract of a letter from Mr. James Osborn of the 24th. I have paid particular attention to the contents of the several letters. Had they arrived earlier, you should have had my answer sooner. A variety of circumstances has prevented my writing you before. I expect to do it very fully in a few days, and to procure you an interview with Mr. M——e [*Arnold*], when you will be able to settle your commercial plan, I hope, agreeable to all parties. Mr. M——e [*Arnold*] assures me that he is still of opinion that his first proposal is by no means unreasonable, and makes no doubt, when he has a conference with you, that you will close with it. He expects when you meet that you will be fully authorized from your House [*Sir Henry Clinton*]: that the risks and profits of the co-partnership may be fully and clearly understood.

A speculation might at this time be easily made to some advantage with *ready money*

[*the British Army*], but there is not the quantity of goods [*provisions and stores*] at market [*West Point*] which your partner seems to suppose, and the number of speculators [*the army at Tappan and Malcom's levies at Haverstraw*] below, I think will be against your making an immediate purchase [*attack*]. I apprehend goods [*provisions*] will be in greater plenty [*more provisions and less troops*] and much cheaper in the course of the season; both dry and wet [*rum and flour*] are much wanted and in demand at this juncture. Some quantities are expected in this part of the country soon.

Mr. M——e [*Arnold*] flatters himself that in the course of ten days he will have the pleasure of seeing you. He requests me to advise you that he has ordered a draught on you in favor of our mutual friend, S——y for £300, which you will charge on account of the *tobacco*.

I am, in behalf of Mr. M——e [*Arnold*] and Co., Sir, your most obedient, humble Servant,

GUSTAVUS

To Mr. John Anderson, Merchant,  
New York.

Copy of the letter referred to in Mr. Heron's declaration.

SAMUEL H. PARSONS,  
*Brigadier-General.*

*Colonel Harrison's Certificate on Copy of the  
preceding letter signed "Gustavus"*

I hereby certify that the within is a true copy of a letter in the possession of his Excellency General Washington in a handwriting evidently disguised; that this letter was transmitted him by Brigadier-General Parsons, the 1st of October instant, who then said it was from General Arnold, and by a subsequent letter, that it was delivered by Arnold on the 30th of August to a person who had obtained permission from him to go into New York, who — suspecting it might contain something illicit, from the extraordinary precautions used by Mr. Arnold with respect to it when he gave it — did not deliver it in New York, but after his return put it into his (General Parsons's) hands on the 10th of September. That it should have been forwarded earlier to his Excellency, but sup-

posing it to refer merely to commerce, he chose rather to make it a subject of private conversation than of a letter; and that on his arrival his Excellency was just leaving camp (alluding to his visit to meet their Excellencies the Count de Rochambeau and the Chevalier de Tunay at Hartford), so that it was left to the ripening of the horrid event to detect the unsuspected instrument.

The copy of the within letter was requested by Colonel Varick and is given him by permission of the Commander-in-Chief.

ROBT. H. HARRISON,  
*Secretary.*

October 17, 1780.

## XVIII

### EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM THE LATE MAJOR-GENERAL ARNOLD TO COLONEL ELISHA SHELDON

*Headquarters, Robinson's House,  
September 1, 1780.*

I wish to be informed if the person you mentioned to me is returned from his excursion. On considering the matter I am



convinced that material intelligence might be procured through the channel I mentioned.

I am, with sentiments of the most sincere regard and esteem, dear Sir, your most humble servant,

B. A.

*To Colonel Elisha Sheldon.*

## XIX

### EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM THE LATE MAJOR-GENERAL ARNOLD TO COLONEL SHELDON

*Headquarters, Robinson's House,  
September 7, 1780.*

I am sorry the person you refer to is not returned. I wish to see him as soon as he does, as I am in hopes through him to open a channel of intelligence that may be depended upon.

I am much obliged to you for the care you have taken to procure the articles for the ladies. I will write General Parsons on the subject, and you need not apprehend any difficulty, as we are on the most friendly footing.

Since I saw you I have had an opportunity of transmitting a letter to the person in New York of whom I made mention, and am in expectation of procuring a meeting at your quarters. If I can bring this matter about, as I hope I will, I shall open a channel of intelligence that will be regular and to be depended upon.

I am, with great regard and esteem, dear Sir, your obedient, humble servant,

B. ARNOLD

*To Colonel Sheldon.*

## XX

### COPY OF A LETTER FROM COLONEL SHELDON TO THE LATE MAJOR-GENERAL ARNOLD

Lower Salem, September 9, 1780.

DEAR SIR, —

Enclosed I send you a letter which I received last evening from New York, signed "John Anderson," who mentions his name being made known to me; if this is the person you mentioned in your favor of yesterday, he must have received his information

by your letter, as I never heard his name mentioned before I received the letter. I hope you will not fail meeting him at Dobbs's Ferry. If you cannot meet him yourself, pray send a person you can confide in. I am so much out of health, I shall not be able to ride that distance in one day.

I am, dear Sir, with great esteem and regard, your most obedient and very humble servant,

ELISHA SHELDON

*To Major-General Arnold.*

## XXI

COPY OF A LETTER FROM MR. JOHN ANDERSON  
TO COLONEL ELISHA SHELDON

New York, 7th September, 1780.

SIR, —

I am told my name is made known to you, and that I may hope your indulgence in permitting me to meet a friend near your outposts. I will endeavor to obtain permission to go out with a flag, which will be sent to Dobbs's Ferry on Monday next, the 11th, at 12 o'clock, when I shall be happy to meet

Mr. G——. Should I not be allowed to go, the officer who is to command the escort, between whom and myself no distinction need be made, can speak on the affair.

Let me entreat you, Sir, to favor a matter so interesting to the parties concerned, and which is of so private a nature that the public on neither side can be injured by it.

I shall be happy on my part to do any act of kindness to you in a family or property concern of a similar nature.

I trust I shall not be detained, but should any old grudge be a cause for it, I shall rather risk that than neglect the business in question, or assume a mysterious character to carry on an innocent affair; and, as friends have advised, get to your lines by stealth.

I am, Sir, with all regard, your most obedient humble servant,

JOHN ANDERSON

*To Colonel Sheldon.*

## XXII

### COPY OF A LETTER FROM THE LATE MAJOR- GENERAL ARNOLD TO COLONEL SHELDON

*Headquarters, Robinson's House,  
September 10, 1780.*

DEAR SIR, —

I received your favor of yesterday last night. You judge right. I wrote Mr. Anderson the 3rd inst., requesting him to meet me at your quarters, and informed him I had hinted the matter to you, and that you would send any letter to me, or inform me of his arrival. I did not mention his name in my letter to you, as I thought it unnecessary. I was obliged to write with great caution to him. My letter was signed "Gustavus," to prevent any discovery in case it fell into the hands of the enemy.

From the tenor of Mr. Anderson's letter, in particular that part where he says "the officer who commands the escort, between whom and myself no distinction need be made, can speak on the affair," I am led to conjecture my letter has been intercepted;

there are several things in the letter which appear mysterious.

As you are unwell, and I want to go to Verplanck's Point to give directions in some matters there, I am determined to go as far as Dobbs's Ferry and meet the flag.

If Mr. Anderson should not be permitted to come out in the flag, and should find means to come to your quarters, I wish you to send an express to let me know, and send two or three horsemen to conduct him on the way to meet me, as it is difficult for me to ride so far. If your health will permit, I wish you to come with him. I have promised him your protection, and that he shall return in safety. I am convinced of his inclination to serve the public, and if he has received my letter, and in consequence thereof should come to your quarters, I make no doubt to fix on a mode of intelligence that will answer my wishes. If General Parsons is arrived, I wish you to show him my letter and tell him my request is to have Mr. Anderson escorted to meet me.

Please to write me by return of the express, through what channel you received

Mr. Anderson's letter and if your emissary is returned.

I am, with great regard and esteem, dear Sir, your most obedient and humble servant,

B. ARNOLD

*To Colonel Sheldon.*

### XXIII

COPY POSTSCRIPT OF A LETTER FROM THE LATE  
MAJOR-GENERAL ARNOLD TO MAJOR TALL-  
MADGE

*Headquarters, Robinson's House,  
September 13, 1780.*

If Mr. James Anderson, a person I expect from New York, should come to your quarters, I have to request that you will give him an escort of two horsemen to bring him on his way to this place and send an express to me, that I may meet him. If your business will permit, I wish you to come with him.

### XXIV

DEPOSITION OF LIEUTENANT-COLONEL ROBERT  
H. HARRISON, SECRETARY TO HIS EXCEL-  
LENCY GENERAL WASHINGTON

Colonel Richard Varick having solicited

his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief for a Court of Inquiry to examine into his conduct, on account of his being in, and one of, the late Major-General Arnold's family when he fled to the enemy on the 25th of September last, and having requested me to attend the Court in order to testify in what light his conduct appeared to me when the discovery was made of Mr. Arnold's escape, and the correspondence he had been carrying on with the enemy, which occasioned it — or to give my deposition, in case circumstances would not permit me to attend — I do make oath on the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God (circumstances not permitting me to attend the Court of Inquiry) that I was at Robinson's House in the Highlands, on the 25th of September, with his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, when he received information of the capture of Major André, Adjutant-General to the British Army, and the papers which had been found upon him, and of Mr. Arnold's having gone down the river; that Colonel Varick and Major Franks were there at the time, and from every circumstance in their conduct and



deportment, both before the Commander-in-Chief received the information of these events, as well as after, it appeared to me that they were entirely ignorant both of the treacherous correspondence Mr. Arnold had been carrying on with the enemy, and his intentions to escape. Every circumstance that I saw led me to believe they were not privy to either, and their air, their manner, the whole tenor of their behavior appeared to me strongly to characterize their innocence.

ROBERT H. HARRISON

Sworn before me, the subscriber, Chief Justice of New Jersey, the 21st day of October, 1780.

DAVID BREARLEY

## XXV

DEPOSITION OF LIEUTENANT-COLONEL RICHARD  
K. MEADE, AIDE-DE-CAMP TO HIS EXCEL-  
LENCY GENERAL WASHINGTON

Colonel Varick having requested the Commander-in-Chief to grant him a Court for the purpose of inquiring into his conduct, as it might be imagined to be connected with

General Arnold's traitorous designs, and desiring me to attend the Court, and not being able to comply with his request, I do swear on the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God that I arrived at Robinson's House some time in the afternoon on the day of Arnold's flight, and shortly after was informed that he had gone to the enemy. The Commander-in-Chief desired both Colonel Varick and Major Franks (two gentlemen of General Arnold's family) to consider themselves under arrest. They voluntarily delivered me the keys of their chests, which they afterwards had occasionally. Both these gentlemen repeatedly expressed their anxiety to have me search their chests, which I was as much opposed to, from a conviction founded on their behavior, that they were entirely free from any knowledge of Arnold's treacherous designs. At length, and after Major Franks's departure, who accompanied Mrs. Arnold to Philadelphia, Colonel Varick urged the examination of his chests so pressingly that I yielded to his solicitations, but still without the most distant suspicion of making any discovery unfavorable to this gentleman. I

Colonel Richard Smith, of the

The late General Arnold's family, having re-  
plans and profiles of each work at West

of the army, of whom there are, to prove  
that he had ever been at Robinson's house,  
but he declared that the meeting at Smith's  
house was his first personal communica-  
tion with Arnold.

WICK  
Jms ~ Paul Anthony

2<sup>nd</sup> personally appeared before me Benjamin  
Chenoweth Thues, and made solemn oath to  
18 7 10 110

could not, consistent with my feelings, make so minute a search as he seemed to wish and as I would have made under other circumstances; but I must declare in justice to Colonel Varick, that from his behavior and from the view which I took of his papers, there was not in my opinion the least room to suspect his fidelity.

R. K. MEADE

Sworn before me, the subscriber, Chief Justice of the State of New Jersey, the 21st day of October, 1780.

DAVID BREARLEY

## XXVI

### DEPOSITION OF THE HONORABLE BRIGADIER-GENERAL HENRY KNOX

Colonel Richard Varick, of the late General Arnold's family, having requested me to declare what I know concerning his behavior on the day of Arnold's flight, and on the days subsequent whilst I was at West Point, —

In justice to the said Colonel Varick, I

think myself bound to say, that on the discovery of Arnold's treachery, there was not a single circumstance to induce a suspicion that either he or Major David Franks was knowing or privy to the perfidy or flight of Arnold. That Colonel Varick and Major Franks gave ready and decided answers to such questions respecting Arnold as were asked them, and willingly produced all papers belonging to him that were in their possession, or that they could find, — a particular instance of which was exhibited by Colonel Varick two days after the first discovery. By a critical research in a trunk where Arnold's clothes were deposited, he found the plans and profiles of each work at West Point in a separate paper, which he instantly brought to his Excellency General Washington. It was until that time supposed that Arnold had carried off these papers with him.

Also that I frequently examined the papers detected upon Major André, all of which were written in Arnold's own hand. And that nothing appeared upon Major André's trial before the general officers of the army,

of whom I was one, to prove that he had ever been at Robinson's House; but he declared that the meeting at Smith's House was his first personal communication with Arnold.

H. KNOX,  
*Brigadier-General Artillery.*

Personally appeared before me Brigadier-General Knox, and made solemn oath to the truth of the foregoing relation.

NATH. GREENE,  
*Major-General.*

*Precaeness, October 22, 1780.*

The Court adjourned till Sunday, 5th, at nine o'clock A. M.



NOVEMBER 5, SUNDAY, NINE O'CLOCK A. M., THE  
COURT MET PURSUANT TO ADJOURNMENT

Major David S. Franks appearing before the Court as a witness, was interrogated by Lieutenant-Colonel Varick, and answered as follows:—

*Question.*— 1. Were you in the late Major-General Arnold's family, when I joined it? When was it? In what capacity was I employed? And did I ever communicate to you my views in joining Arnold? When and in what manner? And did I, or did I not, ever suggest to you any dissatisfaction that the terms offered me by him and on which I joined him were not complied with?



*Answer.*—I was at Robinson's House in the late Major-General Arnold's family when you joined it as secretary, on the 13th August last. You communicated your views to me at that time for rejoining the Army, which, among others, were that in rendering service to your country you might also have leisure hours for study, and from the close attention which you were obliged to give to writing in the office you were disappointed and much dissatisfied. You also showed me a letter of yours to Colonel Hay, of the 14th August, explaining your reasons for rejoining the Army more at large.

*Question.* — 2. Did not you, on account of some indignities and repeated affronts offered you by Arnold, declare to Dr. Eustis and myself, and on other occasions to me alone, that you would not stay with him? What were my declarations on that particular as well as on the other occasions?

*Answer.* — I had for some months been dissatisfied with Arnold's deportment towards me, and mentioned it to you several times, with my positive determination to leave him. On my mentioning this resolu-

tion to you and Dr. Eustis one day, you said that you must also leave him, lest he should treat you in the same manner; but I told you that he would not do it till you had stayed two or three years with him.

*Question.* — 3. Did not Arnold go in his barge to King's Ferry repeatedly? How often, with what declared intentions, and did I ever accompany him, to your knowledge?

*Answer.* — I never knew of his going but twice: once when he met Mrs. Arnold and myself on my return from Philadelphia; and afterwards when he went, as he said, to dispose of Meigs's Regiment, both of which times you remained at Robinson's House.

*Question.* — 4. Did, or did not, Joshua H. Smith often come to Arnold's quarters, and whether before or after Mrs. Arnold arrived, or how long after? And did not I testify my hearty dislike to his visits, and on what account? And did I, or did I not, often, and very soon after my joining Arnold, and afterwards on all occasions when Smith's name was mentioned, freely and with apparent design, express my opinion of his moral and

political character, both before Arnold and Mrs. Arnold, and what was it?

*Answer.* — He came to the house after Mrs. Arnold arrived, twice to my knowledge and never before. The first time was the next day after I came from Philadelphia, when he stayed two nights, and the other, when he dined with us on his way to Fish-kill on the 23rd September. You always expressed your dislike in very warm terms, at his visits to our family, as you said you knew him to be a very great liar and thought him an enemy to this country, hid under the mask of friendship. You reprobated him, and often, with apparent design, declared freely your sentiments of him before Arnold.

*Question.* — 5. Did I, or did I not, inform you, and at what time, that on the night of the 17th, when Joshua H. Smith and his wife had come to visit Mrs. Arnold, I had a warm political dispute with him, and that I had affronted him, and the reasons for my so doing?

*Answer.* — On my return from Peekskill on the 18th, when I had accompanied Arnold to meet his Excellency on his way to

Hartford, you told me you had affronted Johsua Smith the preceding night in a political conversation, for his asserting that America might have made an honorable peace with Great Britain when the commissioner came out in 1778. And the same day Mrs. Arnold told me of the dispute of the preceding evening and added that Colonel Varick was, in her opinion, a very "warm and staunch Whig."

*Question.*— 6. Did I not inform you, on your return from Philadelphia with Mrs. Arnold, that Arnold had written, and by whom, a letter ( which I had not seen ) in a mercantile style to a person in New York whose fictitious name was John Anderson, to establish a line of intelligence of the enemy's movements, and what was your reply to me? Did I not show to you Anderson's letter to Colonel Sheldon and Sheldon's to and from Arnold on the subject? And did I ever, to your knowledge or belief, withhold any papers in my custody from your perusal?

*Answer.*— You told me that Arnold had written a letter to one John Anderson in

New York, in a mercantile style, to cover the design of getting intelligence of the enemy's movements from him; that you was also apprehensive that his letter was intercepted, as the answer from Anderson to Colonel Sheldon expressed an extreme of caution and referred him to the officer who conducted the flag for further information. I told you that I thought Arnold had corresponded with Anderson or some such name before from Philadelphia, and had got intelligence of consequence from him. All the public papers were open to my inspection, but I never saw the letters before mentioned.

*Question.* — 7. Did I, or did I not, inform you before, and how long before, Arnold's desertion that I had often conversed with him on the subject of his intimacy with Smith, and that I had begged him to discontinue it, from a regard to his own reputation in this State, and what were his replies as then related by me to you?

*Answer.* — You did inform me that you had warned Arnold against associating with Smith, as you mention, and that he assured

you that he would not put it in Smith's power to hurt him or his country.

*Question.*—8. When Arnold went down to King's Ferry on the 21st September and did not return that evening, did we not suppose him to have gone to Smith's, and what were my declared resolutions on that occasion? And did we not take any, and what, measures to prevent a further intimacy between them?

*Answer.*—When he went down on the 21st September, we did suppose he was gone to Smith's, and you expressed much displeasure, and said that Arnold had used you ill in not crediting what you said of Smith, and avowed you would leave him if he continued his intimacy with Smith. We begged Mrs. Arnold to use her influence with Arnold to prevent it, which she did, and told you he had promised her to have nothing more to do with Smith.

*Question.*—9. Did you, or did you not, then inform me that Arnold was an avaricious man, and that you suspected he meant to enter into trade by means of flags and the unprincipled rascal Smith? Pray inform the

court of the reasons assigned for your suspicions, what my reply and our mutual engagements on honor on the occasion were?

*Answer.*—I did tell you that I thought Arnold was an avaricious man, and from circumstances imagined he had some commercial plan in agitation with some people in New York under the sanction of his own command and thro' the rascal Smith. My principal reasons for thinking so were the relation you had given me concerning the correspondence with Anderson and his subsequent eagerness to get intelligence from New York. We agreed on honor to leave him, if our doubts were confirmed.

*Question.*—10. Was not Smith at Arnold's quarters on the 23rd September? What was my language and conduct to him and Arnold on that day, to your knowledge? Was there ever any difference between Arnold and me prior thereto? And did I, on the 24th, inform you of the continuance of the difference between Arnold and myself, after you left us on the 23rd? What was my information? And did I not, in confidence, show you a letter of the 19th September from Colonel Ben-

son, of Governor Clinton's family, to me, and what were my observations thereon?

*Answer.*—Smith came to dinner with us on the 23rd September. A dispute arose between you and him, in which I bore a part. The subject was the little value of Continental money, of which Smith spoke disrespectfully. Arnold, at and after dinner, took me to task for affronting Smith. I requested him to give me a discharge from his family. I went up to Newburgh on business and left him and you together, who took all the blame of offending Smith on yourself, and on my return next day you informed me that you had continued the dispute about Smith with Arnold, who said that he was always ready to receive advice from the gentlemen of his family, but, by God, would not be dictated to by them, and that he thought he had as much prudence as those gentlemen. That you showed him a letter from Governor Clinton's secretary, which you had that evening received and which gave Smith's character in its proper light as a dissembling scoundrel and an enemy to the country, on which he promised you never to go to Smith's house



again, nor be seen with him but in company. There never was any difference between you and Arnold prior to this dispute.

*Question.*—11. Did not Arnold, on the 25th September, receive one or more letters by a militia officer? Did you see the contents? Was I present, or where was I at the time? Did Arnold come into my room, or did I see him thereafter? What was his conduct? Was I informed thereof, and when? By whom and in what manner? Did I, to your knowledge, see the officer, and at what time of day? When you mentioned *your suspicions* what was my reply and our reflections on the subject? What time of day did I mention to you *my apprehensions* of Arnold's rascality? What did I assign as the cause of my fears? And did we not thereupon instantly communicate in confidence our suspicions to Dr. Eustis?

*Answer.*—Arnold, I believe, did receive two letters by a militia officer, tho' I did not see them. You did not see them, I am sure; you was sick in your own room. Arnold did not come into it, nor did you see him after breakfast that day. His conduct was, that

soon after he received the letters above mentioned he went upstairs to his lady. In about two minutes his Excellency General Washington's servant came to the door and informed me that his Excellency was nigh at hand. I went immediately upstairs and informed Arnold of it. He came down in great confusion, and, ordering a horse to be saddled, mounted him and told me to inform his Excellency that he was gone over to West Point, and would return in about an hour. His Excellency came about half an hour after Arnold went off, and after taking breakfast, went to West Point. Soon after Mrs. Arnold's unhappy situation called us all to her assistance. Her alarms, together with Arnold's precipitate departure, gave me much uneasiness. I hoped to see him return soon, and you and myself were about to send for him.

An hour and a half, or thereabout, after he was gone, a report was spread about our quarters of a spy, of the name of John Anderson, being detected nigh our lines. On my hearing it, I flew to you with undescribable agitation and told you I was sure Ar-

nold was a villain ; but, on reflection and further conversation, we agreed that it was uncharitable, and that we were not warranted to think so, and that, if any bad consequences were to ensue to Arnold from our suspicions, our characters were ruined.

Soon after his Excellency returned from West Point, where he had been some considerable time and during which Mrs. Arnold was in the most alarming distress of mind. You were frequently with her and informed me that she had complained that she had no friends,—she was left alone, and that on your telling her that she had many friends here, enumerating yourself, me and General Arnold ; on your mentioning him she exclaimed in an agony of grief, “ *Oh, no, he is gone ; gone forever !* ” This at last confirmed your and my suspicions, which were communicated to Dr. Eustis immediately.

*Question.*—12. On his Excellency General Washington’s return from West Point, did I not wait on him, at Mrs. Arnold’s instance, to request him to see her, and did we not think that the most eligible mode of conveying our anxious fears and suspicions of Ar-

nold's business to him was by letting him see her unhappy situation?

*Answer.* — You did accompany his Excellency to Mrs. Arnold's apartment for the purposes you mention, as agreed on between us.

*Question.* — 13. Had you ever, from your frequent conversations with me, or from your observations on every part of my conduct, from the day of my joining Arnold till the 23rd August when you went to Philadelphia, or from the 15th September when you returned, until the 25th, when he fled to the enemy, or since that date till now, the most distant cause to suspect my having any agency in, or being privy to, his destructive and horrid designs against his country? Or had you, from any circumstances whatever, either before or since, any suspicion that I was informed of his desertion, until the hour when I mentioned to you my fear on that head? And at what time was I fully advised of Arnold's treachery and perfidy, and by whom?

*Answer.* — I never had; nor had I the slightest shadow of suspicion that you was

privy to, much less concerned in, Arnold's wicked and treasonable practices, and it was late in the day before either of us was ascertained of his perfidy and desertion. We were then informed of it by his Excellency General Washington.

*Question.*— 14. Was there not the greatest intimacy and apparent confidential friendship between you and me, as well as between Arnold and me? And was I ever, in your opinion, reserved to either you or him in speaking my opinion, in a friendly style, on any part of his conduct which I thought exceptionable?

*Answer.*— There was always a great degree of friendship and confidential intimacy between you and myself. You and Arnold were very intimate. You never were reserved to either of us, in speaking your opinion of him, or any part of his conduct which you thought exceptionable.

*Question.*— 15. Did I not object to the tenor of a letter written by him to Colonel Beverly Robinson, on or about the 18th September, and, on my representation to him, did I not alter it? What was the sub-

ject of the letter, and my exceptions thereto and alterations therein?

*Answer.*— You did object to and alter a letter of his, in answer to Colonel Beverly Robinson, which you thought seemed to court a correspondence with him, observing at the same time that Arnold's letter to him bore the complexion of one from a friend rather than one from an enemy, and that Robinson was very obnoxious to the State of New York.

*Question.*— 16. Did I not inform you soon after my joining Arnold that I would have no connection with his family arrangements or his stores, and that I would not act as a caterer or steward; and what were my reasons therefor?

*Answer.*— You did; and your reasons were that it would take up the time you intended to give to study.

*Question.*— 17. Did, or did not, Arnold declare that he had 10,000 rations due to him since 1775, 1776 and 1777, for which he could not get an adequate compensation, and that he would in future draw all his rations?

*Answer.*— He did frequently, and that he

would never leave his rations again in the hands of the public.

*Question.*—18. Did I, or did I not, inform you on your arrival from Philadelphia with Mrs. Arnold that Arnold had sent for a Captain Robinson, a skipper, and asked him to sell some rum for him, and that I had prevented any intercourse between them by informing Arnold that Robinson was a Tory? And did I, or did I not, also inform you that he had bargained with Captain Bard for the sale of three barrels of pork, and that I had prevailed on him to lay aside his intentions by representing to him that he would incur disgrace if he did sell *any* provisions, especially when that article was in such serious demand at the post?

*Answer.*— You informed me that Mr. Robinson had been spoken to by Arnold, and that you had prevented his employing him to sell rum; but I do not recollect mentioning anything as to Mr. Bard or the pork. You did tell me that you had prevailed on him to decline selling stores, as you mention.

*Question.*—19. What public stores did Arnold draw for his use? What became of

them, and what stores were left in my charge for our use, and subject, to be accounted for and to whom? And what private stores of his were left by Mrs. Arnold in my hands for our use?

*Answer.*— I do not know precisely what stores Arnold drew, nor what became of the whole. I am informed that part of them, being the whole unopened stores, were returned by you to the commissary; that there were some broken stores, to wit, some pork, dry codfish and shad, about 100 lbs. flour, and 40 lbs. biscuit, of public stores, left in your hands for our use, subject to be accounted for to the commissary when our Inquiry should be finished. Mrs. Arnold left us a little tea, coffee, chocolate, sugar, Madeira wine and some salmon and old spirits, as well as some biscuits of her private stores for our use.

*Question.*— 20. On what day did you go to Philadelphia with Mrs. Arnold, and when did you return?

*Answer.*— I left Robinson's House on the 27th September, and returned there again on the 16th October.



## XXVII

COPY OF INTERROGATORIES TO DOCTOR WILLIAM EUSTIS, BY LIEUTENANT-COLONEL VARICK, AND ANSWERS THERETO

*Question.*—1. Were you, and did you quarter at Robinson's House when I joined the late General Arnold's family? When was it, and how was I employed during the time of my service with him? Was I often, to your knowledge, absent from Robinson's House or from my duty, and how often, when and where?

*Answer.*—I was stationed at Robinson's House on Sunday, the 13th of August, when you joined the late General Arnold's family. You appeared to me to be constantly employed in writing, and, excepting once to Fishkill and two or three times to West Point, I scarcely recollect an instance of your being absent from Robinson's House.

*Question.*—2. Did I ever inform you of my views in joining Arnold, and did I, or

did I not, often suggest to you my dissatisfaction on being obliged to do so much fatiguing duty without assistance?

*Answer.*— You have repeatedly informed me that you entered Arnold's family in expectation of having hours for study and that you were dissatisfied at your constant confinement to the writing table.

*Question.*—3. As I was intimate and social with you at every period of the time of my service with Arnold and since his desertion, pray inform the Court whether I did, or did not, sport my political sentiments very freely before you? What they were, and whether spoken with the ardor and animation which characterizes an active and anxious friend of my country, or in a cold, phlegmatic and indifferent manner?

*Answer.*— Whenever the situation of our country has been the subject, your conversation was such as became her warmest and most zealous friends.

*Question.*—4. When Major Franks, on the 18th September, on account of some affronts and indignities offered him by Arnold, declared to us in confidence his determina-

tion to leave him, did I not also declare that I would not stay, lest he should take the same liberty with me?

*Answer.*— I recollect the conversation, and you did.

*Question.*—5. Did not Arnold often, to your knowledge, go down the river to King's Ferry in his barge? How often, when, and for what *declared* purposes; and did I ever accompany him?

*Answer.*— He went down the river on the 8th of September, as was said, to bring up Mrs. Arnold. On the 10th or 11th he went down, and on his return I was informed he had been to Dobbs's Ferry, and had been fired on by the enemy's gun boats. On the 14th he went to meet Mrs. Arnold at Smith's. Mrs. Arnold returned with him the next day. A fourth time he went down (for what purpose I know not), and the day following returned with Colonel Gray and Major Leavensworth. You did not accompany him at either time.

*Question.*—6. Did, or did not, Mr. Joshua Smith come to Arnold's quarters often, and whether before or after Mrs. Arnold's arrival?

*Answer.*— Mr. Smith, with his wife and nephew, came to Arnold's quarters the day after Mrs. Arnold's arrival and remained two nights. He was there once or twice afterwards, but I cannot ascertain the precise days.

*Question.*— 7. Did I, or did I not, both before and after Mrs. Arnold's arrival, give you my sentiments of Smith's moral and political character? How soon after my joining Arnold, and what was it?

*Answer.*— You have repeatedly, and particularly at his first visit, told me he was a damned rascal, and that you were disgusted at his visits.

*Question.*— 8. Did I, or did I not, inform you, on the second night of Smith's first visit, that I had had a political dispute with him on that evening in the presence of Mrs. Arnold, and that I had affronted him? And did I, or did I not, acquaint you with my reasons for doing it, and what were they?

*Answer.*— You did, and for his asserting that when the commissioners came out in 1778, America might have made a safe and honorable peace.

*Question.*—9. Did I, or did I not, on Saturday, the 23rd of September, enter your dining room, and with an apparent degree of pleasure, inform you that I had designedly affronted Smith at Arnold's table, and the manner of it?

*Answer.*—I recollect your having told me that you had affronted Smith at table in a dispute which was introduced by the price of a bottle of oil.

*Question.*—10. Was I, or was I not, sick on the 24th, 25th and 26th of September, and confined to my bed during any, and what part, of the time?

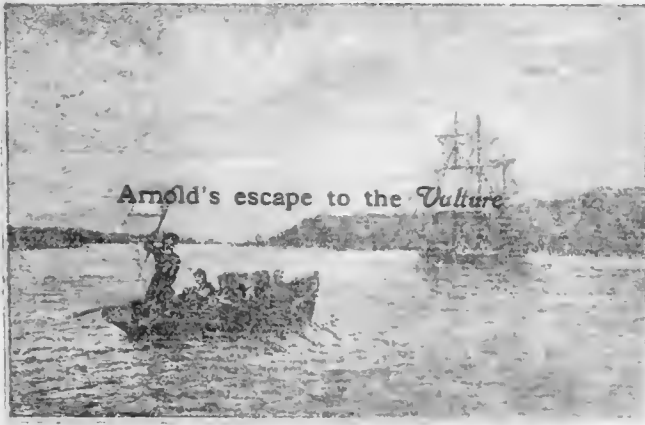
*Answer.*—You had been ill for a considerable time before Arnold's desertion, and I had frequently told you that you were injuring your health by too close an application to business. You kept on the bed two or three days before the 25th. In the evening before, your fever had increased, and I gave you an emetic to take the next morning. You took it, and but for the confusion of the house, I believe you would have been on the bed the greater part of the day.

*Question.*—11. What hour of the day on

the 25th September last did Major Franks and I communicate to you our suspicions of Arnold's having joined the enemy or destroyed himself? How long after he had left the house, and whether before or after his Excellency General Washington returned from West Point, and after what injunctions on you?

*Answer.* — I know not the hour, but soon after his Excellency returned from West Point, I came out of Mrs. Arnold's chamber with you and Major Franks. I asked you where General Arnold was gone, and begged you, for God's sake, to send for him, or the woman would die. You took me into my chamber and both Major Franks and yourself (after enjoining on me the most sacred secrecy) informed me of your suspicions that Arnold had gone to the enemy. On my asking if you had told it to General Washington, I think you told me it was a bare suspicion and that you were afraid to lisp it to any creature living, lest, proving untrue, it should ruin your reputations forever. You afterwards informed me that your suspicions were confirmed by Mrs. Arnold's saying in

her delirium that he (meaning her husband) was *gone forever*.



*Question.*—12. Had you ever, from your frequent conversations with me or your observations on every part of my conduct from the day of my joining Arnold till I suggested to you my suspicions of his having destroyed himself or gone off to the enemy, or since that time till now, the most distant cause to suspect my having any agency in or being privy to his nefarious designs against his country ; or had you, from any circumstance whatever, any suspicion of my being informed of his desertion to the enemy until

on that day and hour when, in the presence of Major Franks, I mentioned to you in confidence our anxious suspicions on this head?

*Answer.*— I am very free and very happy in declaring that, from my intimate acquaintance with you and my general knowledge of your conduct since your joining Arnold's family, I am not only convinced of your innocence and ignorance of his horrid designs against his country, and of his intention to join the enemy, but I really believe that you had not the most distant suspicion of either until his long and unaccountable absence (when he knew General Washington was momentarily expected) laid the first ground for it.

*Question.*— 13. Have you, or have you not, at any time, and when, heard me observe to Major Franks that I would have nothing to do with the family arrangements of General Arnold, or with his stores?

*Answer.*— I have heard you tell Major Franks that you would have no concern in the policy and arrangement of the family.

*Question.*— 14. Were you not informed, and by whom, on the 28th September or



since, that I had retained for my own use any, and what, public stores, which were drawn by Arnold, until the Inquiry into my conduct should be ended? Were you also informed by whose advice it was done, and that I retained them subject to account with the commissary for such part as I should use? And have they, or have they not, been used profusely, and what became of the remainder?

*Answer.* — You informed me that you had reserved of the family stores a sufficiency to sustain Major Franks and yourself till the Court of Inquiry was ended. I think it was advised by one of General Washington's aides, and I do not believe they have been used profusely. The remainder was delivered to the quartermasters and commissaries.

*Question.* — 15. When did Major Franks go to Philadelphia with Mrs. Arnold, and return?

*Answer.* — He went to Philadelphia two days after Arnold's flight, and returned on Monday the 16th of October last.

I certify upon honor that I have given the foregoing answers to Colonel Varick's fif-

teen questions, according to my best knowledge and belief.

WILLIAM EUSTIS, *Hospital Physician,*  
*at Robinson's House, 4th November, 1780.*

## XXVIII

### TESTIMONY OF COLONEL JOHN LAMB

Colonel John Lamb appearing before the Court as a witness, was interrogated by Lieutenant-Colonel Varick, and answered as follows:—

*Question.* — 1. Was you at Robinson's House on the day when I joined the late General Arnold's military family? When was it? In what capacity was I employed, and how did I discharge my duty under him, until his flight, to the best of your knowledge and information?

*Answer.* — I was at Robinson's House the day you joined Arnold's family, but I do not remember the time precisely; it was some time in the beginning of August. You acted in the capacity of Arnold's secretary; you were engaged in writing when I was at the house, and I have reason to believe that you ever discharged your duty with diligence and fidelity to the public.

*Question.* — 2. Did I ever, and when, inform you of my views in joining Arnold's family, and what were they?

*Answer.* — You informed me that your views in joining Arnold's family were to comply with a recommendation of General Schuyler for that purpose, and to avoid being frequently called out in the militia.

*Question.* — 3. Did I ever, before and during my service with Arnold, or since his desertion to this day, make known my political sentiments to you, and what were they?

*Answer.* — I have often conversed with you on politics, both before and after your joining Arnold's family, and never had the least shadow of reason to doubt your strict and steady attachment to the cause of America.

*Question.* — 4. Did I, or did I not, often and soon after my joining Arnold, on all occasions, fully speak to you my opinion of Smith's moral as well as political character, and what were my avowed and open sentiments of him? And did I ever testify to you my hearty aversion to Smith's coming to Arnold's quarters and the liberties he assumed, — my great con-

tempt of him, and my suspicions of his base intentions to procure intelligence for the enemy?

*Answer.*— You often told me that you believed Joshua Smith to be a damned Tory and snake in the grass; that you disliked his coming to the house and that you had cautioned Arnold against him as a spy for the enemy, and was determined to affront him on all occasions.

*Question.*— 5. Did I ever to your knowledge offer insults and affronts to Smith at Arnold's quarters, and what was my language and conduct to and concerning him, as well before as particularly on Saturday the 23rd September, both before and at dinner?

*Answer.*— I remember to have heard you several times give Smith very broad hints, which I thought sufficient to have affronted any man of feeling. But he affected not to understand you. One time particularly you retired from the room where you always transacted the public business, to the dining-room, apparently with design to avoid him, and on his coming into the dining-room, in terms expressive of your disgust you declared

in an angry tone of voice that there was no such thing as doing business without being constantly interrupted by one puppy or other. He appeared to me to understand at whom the expression was leveled, but seemed determined not to fall out with any of the family, for reasons which are now very obvious. When we were at dinner on Saturday the 23rd September, there happened to be a scarcity of butter at the table. On Mrs. Arnold's calling for more butter she was informed by the servant that there was no more. Arnold immediately said: "Bless me, I had forgot the oil I bought in Philadelphia. It will do very well with salt fish," which was one of the dishes. The oil was produced, and, on Arnold's saying it cost eighty dollars, Smith replied, "Eighty pence;" that a dollar was really no more than a penny, upon which you said with some warmth, either "You are mistaken," or "That is not true, Mr. Smith." I do not particularly recollect which. This you said in such a tone of voice as convinced me you was determined to affront him. A great deal was said on the subject between you and Smith, and at length (from some

expression which Smith dropped) Major Franks became a party in the dispute, which was growing very warm, when Mrs. Arnold (who had observed that Arnold was getting very angry) interposed and begged that the dispute might be dropped, as it gave her great pain. After dinner you told me you was determined to affront Smith as often as he came to the house, and drive him from it if possible.

*Question.*—6. At what hours of the day of the 25th September did I communicate to you my fears that Arnold had joined the enemy? And what did I assign to you as the causes of my suspicions, and subject to any and what injunctions?

*Answer.*—I was walking before the door of Robinson's House with Major Villetfranche (on the day that Arnold deserted to the enemy) about 4 o'clock P. M., when we were desired to walk in to dinner. As I entered the house I met you near the door of the dining-room; you took me aside and told me you began to suspect that Arnold was gone to the enemy. I asked you what grounds you had for your suspicions. You said the

manner in which he went off, and that you believed that a certain John Anderson, with whom he corresponded, under the feigned name of Gustavus, was taken as a spy ; that it might be possible your suspicions were groundless, and therefore enjoined me to say nothing on the subject to anybody, lest you might be mistaken in your conjectures.

*Question.*—7. Had you ever, from your acquaintance and conversation with me, or from your observations on any and every part of my conduct from the day of my joining Arnold to the day of his desertion, and since that date to this day, the most distant cause to suspect my having any agency in his infernal designs against his country, or had you from any circumstances whatever, either before or since his desertion, any suspicions of my being informed thereof, till the moment I communicated to you my fears on that score?

*Answer.*— This question is fully answered in my answer to the third.

*Question.*—8. What was my conduct with respect to the public stores which had been drawn by Arnold, and which remained at



Robinson's House, on the 28th September? Were not some, and what, stores left for my use subject to account to the commissary for such part as I should use, and by whose advice was the measure adopted?

*Answer.*— There were some stores left at Robinson's House after Arnold had gone off, particularly flour and a small parcel of dried cod-fish, which you mentioned to me (as commandant of the garrison), and said that although some of General Washington's family had advised you to keep such as you had an immediate occasion for, you would deliver them to the commissary; upon which I told you that you might keep such of them as you and the gentlemen of the hospital wanted, receipting to the commissary for them, as it would save the trouble of sending your servants backward and forward to draw those articles.

*Question.*—9. Did you ever mention to me, and when, the practice of officers at West Point drawing salt and salt provisions, and exchanging them for poultry, butter and other country produce, to the prejudice of officers of inferior rank who could

not, on that account, procure anything for money? And did I not engage to use my influence with Arnold to prevent it in future, and what were the effects of my promise and influence with him, to your knowledge or belief?

*Answer.*— I did mention more than once to you the pernicious practice that had obtained in the garrison, among the general officers, of drawing rum and salt from the commissary, and having those articles exchanged for veal, butter, poultry, etc., at an exorbitant rate. By which means the currency was depreciated and the field and other officers deprived of the chance of purchasing those articles for money; the inhabitants refusing to part with them in any other manner than that of barter. You told me you would use your influence with Arnold to discourage so pernicious and injurious a practice. And some time after, Arnold informed me he had ordered commissary Monell (who, I understood, had been employed in bartering rum and salt) to return a quantity of salt which he had received for that purpose.

*Question.* — 10. Was, or was not, Joshua Smith the chief agent for Arnold in his correspondence with the enemy?

*Answer.* — I am informed he was.

#### JOSHUA HETT SMITH'S HOUSE

The view is from the slope in front of the house. It stands upon the slope of "Treasure Hill," a few rods west of the road leading from Stony Point to Havestrav. The house is famous as the place where Arnold and Andre arranged the terms upon which West Point was to be surrendered to the British. It was in a room on the second floor that the conspirators were closeted together.

#### DEPOSITION OF MR. HENRY DORNE TRIPP, COMMISSARY TO THE FLYING HOSPITAL

West Point, ss. — Henry D. Tripp, Commissary to the Flying Hospital at Robinson's House, being sworn, deposeth and saith, that about the beginning of September the late Major-General Arnold desired the deponent to take in his boat to New Windsor three barrels of pork for Mr. Bard, to be left at Mr. William Ellison's at that place; that the

pork was accordingly taken out of the cellar at Robinson's House, and sent down to the landing by Arnold's orders, and put in the boat of the deponent, and left by him at Ellison's; and that Lieutenant-Colonel Varick had not any information thereof to this deponent's knowledge or belief, as the charge given by Arnold to him respecting the pork was in so singularly low a tone of voice as not to be audible where Colonel Varick sat writing in the same room, and the more especially as every order respecting it was given by Arnold in person.

H. D. TRIPP

Sworn before me at West Point this 5th November, 1780.

*[Name of officer administering oath not given.]*

## XXIX

A PRIVATE MEMORANDUM-BOOK IN THE HAND-  
WRITING OF THE LATE GENERAL ARNOLD,  
CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF SALES OF PUBLIC SALT, WINE AND PORK

*[This book does not appear among the papers in this case, but it is unimportant.]*

### XXX

#### DEPOSITION OF MRS. CATHERINE MARTIN

State of New Jersey, }  
Bergen County, } ss.

Mrs. Catherine Martin, wife of — Martin, Sergeant-Major to the 3rd Pennsylvania regiment, being duly sworn, deposeth and saith, that on about the fourth or fifth of August last, she entered into the family of the late Major-General Arnold as his house-keeper at Robinson's House ; that some time thereafter Lieutenant-Colonel Richard Varick joined General Arnold and acted as secretary to him.

That during the time of his continuance with General Arnold, he did not interfere with or concern himself about the private arrangements in his family, except in the absence of the General, on which occasions, on the deponent's complaints to him, he was under the necessity of giving orders on the commissary for bread or flour or beef, to supply the absolute wants of the servants and attendants of the family.

And the deponent further saith that she heard Lieutenant-Colonel Varick frequently declare that he would have nothing to do with the private affairs of General Arnold; that he had not come into his family for the purpose of being his purveyor or steward, and that he would act in his proper line of office only.

That General Arnold, for a long time, kept his stores in his own private room, and afterwards in a room appointed for the purpose, to which no person had access except himself, the deponent and his own servant; that she verily believes Lieutenant-Colonel Varick never knew, unless by information from him, what stores General Arnold had for his own use, as he did not, to her knowledge or belief, ever go into his store-room, or ever inquire from her what stores Arnold had. That Lieutenant-Colonel Varick never, to her knowledge, entered into the kitchen, except to call a servant, until after he was taken ill, when he was under the necessity of going into it for his own convenience; and that he never gave any orders with respect to the family affairs, except when General Arnold

was absent to King's Ferry to meet Mrs. Arnold at two or three different times, or elsewhere.

That she has the fullest reason to believe that Lieutenant-Colonel Varick never was in the cellar of Robinson's House, where some stores of General Arnold's were lodged, until two days after he had deserted to the enemy, when, upon her representation that the locks were taken away and the stores exposed to theft, he went down to inquire into their situation.

And further the deponent saith not.

CATHERINE MARTIN

Sworn this 17th day of October, 1780, before me,

A. ST. CLAIR, *Major-General.*

### XXXI

COPY OF A CERTIFICATE OF MR. SAMUEL B. MARSHALL, ASSISTANT COMMISSARY OF ISSUES

This certifies that there was drawn by sundry orders, signed by Lieutenant-Colonel Varick (secretary to the late General Arnold)

from the issuing store, in the months of August and September, 1780, two hundred and twenty-five pounds of beef, five tongues and two barrels damaged India meal, which is the whole of the stores that the said Lieutenant-Colonel Varick gave orders for, and which orders specified that the provisions were for said General Arnold's family.

SAMUEL B. MARSHALL,

*Assistant Commissary of Issues.*

*West Point, October 22, 1780.*

I now beg leave to offer in evidence a few papers evincive of the line of my conduct with respect to the stores and provisions left in my charge on the 28th September last:—

- 1.—A receipt from Mr. Marshall for spirits, flour and fish delivered him by Lieutenant-Colonel Varick, September 28, 1780.
- 2.—Sundry receipts from the quarter-masters, for a marker, horseman's tents, and common tents, horses, waggons, writing paper, etc., etc., in the quartermaster department, returned by Lieutenant-Colonel Varick at different times.
- 3.—A return of provisions left in the hands



of Lieutenant-Colonel Varick, September 28, 1780. Also a return of his and Major Franks's expenditures of provisions.

4.—Copy of a Certificate of Samuel B. Marshall, Assistant Commissary of Issues.

I do hereby certify that there is due to Lieutenant-Colonel Richard Varick from the 28th September to the 31st inst., and to Major David S. Franks from the 1st to the 31st inst., included in the whole, one hundred and sixty-six pounds and three quarters of flour, in part of their rations for themselves and servants, and that no flour has been drawn from my store by either of them, since the late Major-General Arnold deserted to the enemy.

For Samuel B. Marshall, Assistant Commissary of Issues,

JOHN K. STAFFORD

*West Point, October 28, 1780.*



### MOORE'S HOUSE

This house was made famous by being the place where the commissioners met to ratify the terms dictated by Washington for the surrender of Yorktown.

#### *Colonel Varick's Address to the Court:*

I have now gone thro' the evidence on the important and pointed subjects of the Inquiry. It was impossible, from the nature of the case, that I should prove to you, by positive evidence, that I was neither party nor privy to Arnold's wicked and cruel designs against his country and to his mean and dirty speculation and embezzlement of public property. But your report on the subject, whether honorable or dishonorable to me, must depend on circumstances which I have proved to you, as inconsistent with the supposition

of my guilt. I trust I have proved to you fully such circumstances as, when combined and taken at one general view and weighed with precision and candor, will convince your judgments that I was not only incapable of being an agent in Arnold's nefarious and mean practices, but that during my service under him and prior to the date of my joining his family, I had some merit.

I hope the testimony I have offered has in no instance fallen short of the allegations I made to the Court at my opening the business of the Inquiry. I shall not insult your judgments by attempting any explanatory observations or comments on any part of the evidence offered, but readily submit the simple facts as proved for your candid decision.

I cannot, however, dismiss the subject without acknowledging — that most pleasing of all human duties — my gratitude and obligations to his Excellency, our Commander-in-Chief, as well for his delicacy, tenderness and civility towards me, on the discovery of Arnold's perfidy, and in the moments of my severe indisposition, combined with the most

affecting and pungent anxiety and distress, as for this singular indulgence in offering to me an opportunity of redeeming that invaluable jewel — a fair reputation — from reproach ; of establishing my character in the opinion of all candid and good men ; of erasing from the minds of my honest and misinformed fellow-countrymen any unfavorable impressions which my connection with the guilty Arnold has made to my prejudice ; of putting calumny, envy and unprovoked malevolence to perpetual silence, shame and confusion ; of defeating the unmanly intentions of the disingenuous and designing, and finally, of convincing my fellow-citizens and fellow-countrymen that, altho' I have been unfortunate, I am still worthy of their full confidence.

Thus I cheerfully quit the painful subject, in full expectation that your honorary report will compensate for all the anxiety, distress and pain into which the guilt of a traitor has involved me.

RICHARD VARICK

*West Point, November 5, 1780.*

"I  
"of merit that does him great honor as an Officer  
"and particularly distinguishes him as a sincere  
"friend to his country."

Extract from Genl. Order.

Alex. Scammell Adj. Genl.

Head Quarters Camp Soloway Thursday Novemr 16<sup>th</sup> 80

The Commander in chief is pleased, to accept and approve the following report of a Court of Enquiry held at West Point the 2<sup>nd</sup> instant "to examine into the conduct of Lieut Col. Varick in his connection with the late Major General Arnold during his command at West Point and relative to his devotion to the enemy."

Colo Van Schaick President

Lieut Col. Cobb & Dearborn, Major Reid & Capt. Fox Members -

The Court unanimously report their Opinion "That Lieut Col. Varick's conduct with respect to the Base Peculations and Immoral Practices of the late General Arnold "is not only unimpeachable, but thinks him entitled to every part of his conduct for degree of merit that does him great honor as an Officer and particularly distinguishes him as a sincere friend to his country."

Extract from Genl. Order.

Alfred Scammell Adj. Genl.

Detached from 16. 17. 18.  
Copy of 4. 17. 18. 19.  
Detached from 16. 17. 18. 19.  
of 16. 17. 18. 19. 20.

of Thomas Her: 11  
Copy of Qu: 11  
Died. Let: 11  
of 11: 11



Headquarters, Camp Totawa,  
Thursday, November 16, 1780.

The Commander-in-Chief is pleased to accept and approve the following report of a Court of Inquiry held at West Point the 2nd instant, to examine into the conduct of Lieutenant-Colonel Varick in his connection with the late Major-General Arnold during the command at West Point, and relative to his desertion to the enemy.

Colonel Van Schaick, President; Lieutenant-Colonels Cobb and Dearborn, Major Reid and Captain Cox, members.

The Court *unanimously* report their opinion that Lieutenant-Colonel Varick's conduct with respect to *the base peculations and treasonable practices* of the late General Arnold is not only unimpeachable, but think him entitled (thro' every part of his conduct) to a degree of merit which does him great honor as an officer, and particularly distinguishes him as a sincere friend to his country.

Extract from General Orders.

ALEXANDER SCAMMELL,  
*Adjutant-General.*

Head 2<sup>d</sup> Robinson's Horse

Sept. 4. 1780

Dear Sir

My Excellent General Washington informs me  
that He is expecting this the Evening intend an Attack on  
the Ports in the high lands, ~~eastward of~~ where that  
Matter is ascertained and they appear in Force it is  
his Intention to have Henry & Mifflin's Regiments  
and the Garrison and Stairs removed to this place, for  
which purpose I have by his orders sent down sixty Flat  
Bottom Boats, under the Command of <sup>his</sup> Capt. Denney of the Sullivan

who has orders to put himself under your command &  
follow your directions, - whenever the Enemy appear  
in Force near your Port, and it is clearly demonstrated to  
you that they intend an Attack on these Ports, you will

immediately embark all the Stores, Cannon &c at Kings

Point & ~~send~~ <sup>send</sup> with them to W. P. Point - This measure  
is not to be undertaken precipitately, or on any slight Alarm  
A

More important so long as to require any showing or render  
it difficult to execute as you are on the spot you  
are in the best place of the Committee to execute it  
perhaps or any movement of the Society at the  
time it will be prudent to remove the letters to  
the Society or have them in the hands of the Society to be ready  
as they are some may be lost or lose the movement of  
the Society should be refused

Yours  
J. M. L.

Col. J. M. L.

W. M. L.

W. M. L.



Verplank's point where Arnold passed in his flight  
to the *Vulture*

COPY OF INTERROGATORIES BY MAJOR FRANKS  
TO LIEUTENANT-COLONEL RICHARD VARICK,  
AND ANSWERS THERETO

West Point, November 19, 1780.

*Question.*— 1. How long have you known me; and how long have you been particularly acquainted with me? In what office did I act when you first knew me and afterwards became particularly acquainted with me? And, from your knowledge of me, had you ever any reason to suppose I was wanting in attachment or zeal to support the rights of America against British oppression?

*Answer.*— I first became slightly ac-

quainted with you in the year 1776, when I was one of General Schuyler's family and you came from Canada, where, as I was then informed, you had held an office in the service of America, called the *Clerk of the Cheque*. I afterwards became particularly acquainted with you in the year 1777, when you joined the late General Arnold's family, as his aid, and we served together for the campaign in the Northern Army, and afterwards resided in the city of Albany, during the winter 1777-8, while Arnold lay there wounded. From my intimate acquaintance with you I was so far from supposing you wanted zeal and attachment to support our cause that I had, from your whole language and conduct, every reason to believe the contrary.

*Question.*—2. When did you join the late General Arnold's family? When did I leave you and go to Philadelphia for Mrs. Arnold? What day did I return to Robinson's House; and how soon after did Arnold desert to the enemy?

*Answer.*—I joined Arnold's family at Robinson's House on Sunday, 13th August. You left us on the 23rd for Philadelphia and re-

joined us on the 15th September. Arnold deserted on the 25th.

*Question.*—3. Did I ever, and when first, intimate to you that I wished to leave Arnold's family, and my reasons therefor? And did I at any time afterwards make known to you my intentions in that respect?

*Answer.*— You did inform me, I think, on the day, or two days after my joining Arnold, that you was resolved to quit his family and go to Spain this fall, and you then showed me a letter of yours to Colonel Henry B. Livingston, Mr. Jay's private secretary, on that subject, stating the reasons, therein informing him that the money you had brought with you from Canada had sunk in your hands by the depreciation; that for gold lent the public in Canada, you had received paper money from Congress, which was now spent; that your pay in the army would by no means support you; that, by joining our army, you had incurred your father's displeasure and forfeited every prospect of support from him; that it was therefore unavoidably necessary that you should enter into some business for a present subsistence and future support of

yourself and a sister you had brought with you from Canada. Afterwards Arnold's cavalier and ungenteel treatment, to part of which I was witness, gave you frequent occasions, and you did declare to me your absolute determination to leave him this fall.

You accompanied Arnold to Peekskill to meet his Excellency General Washington, then on his way to Hartford, with a declared intention to request Colonel Hamilton to interest himself with the Count de Rochambeau or some general officer in the French army, at Rhode Island, to take you into his family, which you seemed to prefer to quitting America.

On your return from Peekskill on the 10th September, you declared to Dr. Eustis and myself that from the repeated insults and ill treatment offered to you by Arnold, you had resolved not to remain with him on any terms whatever and that you would leave him very shortly.

*Question.* — 4. When did Arnold's correspondence with a Mr. John Anderson commence, to your knowledge? Was I with him then, or was I privy to any part of it? Did you



not inform me of it, and when; and what conversation passed between us on the subject?

*Answer.*— It appears by a private memorandum book of Arnold's, left in my hands by Colonel Meade, and which I lately discovered, that Arnold had written to Anderson, on the 7th June; on the 13th and 15th July; in August without date, and on the 3rd September; another letter of the 30th August signed "Gustavus," intercepted by General Parsons, during my service with Arnold. I never knew of his writing any but that of the 3rd September, which he informed me he had written to a friend of his in New York, under fictitious characters, and sent it by a Mrs. Mary McCarthy, of Quebec, who had Governor Clinton's pass and a flag from Arnold to go down the river to New York. I never saw that letter, nor did I know the fictitious characters, until Arnold received Anderson's letter of the 7th September to Colonel Sheldon, in consequence of Arnold's of the 3rd September. You was absent at the time, and knew nothing of it till the morning after you returned from Philadelphia, when I communicated the correspondence to you. You

thereupon told me you thought you remembered his corresponding with and receiving intelligence from a person of that name. I then thought the correspondence was proper, in discharge of his duty, and commendable if he could procure intelligence in that way. I never was solicitous to know the real characters or names of his emissaries, further than he chose to communicate them to me, as I thought it none of my business and improper to be known by any person. I do not recollect your seeing the letters on the subject of that correspondence which passed between Arnold and Colonel Sheldon and Major Tallmadge, but all the public papers were open to your perusal, except one of the 6th September, sent to Arnold by his Excellency, which, as it was delivered to me confidentially, I did not think myself at liberty to show you.

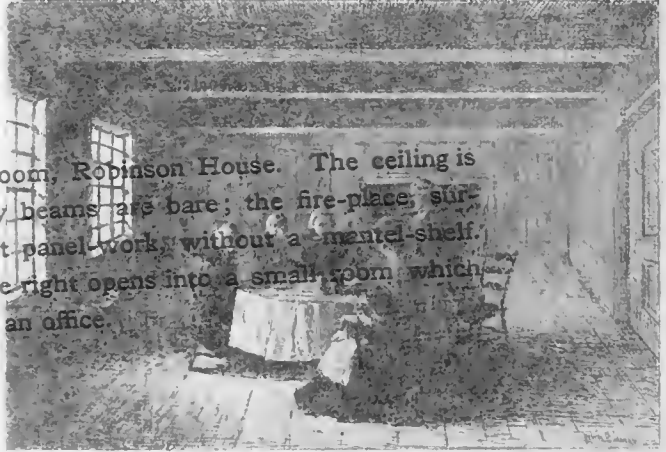
*Question.*—5. What was my opinion of Mr. Joshua H. Smith's character and conduct, and of his visits at Arnold's quarters? And did any, and what, quarrel take place between you, me, and Arnold and Smith; pray inform the Court of the whole.

*Answer.* — When I first joined Arnold's family, he received a letter of the 13th August from Smith, which gave occasion to my speaking freely and unfavorably of Smith's moral and political character. Arnold and yourself thought well of him as a man, but I soon prevailed on you to think him a liar and a rascal and you ever after spoke of him and treated him in a manner his real character merited; and was always disgusted at his visits, the first of which took place, I think, on the 16th September, the day after Mrs. Arnold's arrival.

On the 23rd September, he came to Arnold's quarters and dined with us; my unfavorable opinion of his moral and political character and his usual and unparalleled impertinence and forwardness, and General Arnold's countenancing him (notwithstanding my advice and frequent solicitations to the contrary) fixed a resolution in me to affront him before Arnold, the first opportunity. A trifling one offered at table; I embraced it with warmth. A very high dispute took place, in which you became a volunteer with me. Arnold opposed you and often ad-

dressed to you, with warmth, answers to my observations, and I replied to his answers, addressing myself to Smith. You, as well as myself, were cavalier with Smith, till Mrs.

The Dining room, Robinson House. The ceiling is low; the heavy beams are bare; the fire-place, surrounded by neat panel-work, without a mantel-shelf. The door on the right opens into a small room which Arnold used as an office.



Arnold (who also thought ill of Smith) observing her husband in a passion, begged us to drop the matter. I soon quitted the table and went into my room, which was then the office.

After dinner, Smith went off and Arnold came into the office and took you to task in very illiberal language for affronting Smith; he lashed me over your back, without addressing himself to me; he declared that if

*he asked the Devil to dine with him, the gentlemen of his family should be civil to him.* You told him if Smith had not been at *his* table, you would have sent the bottle at his head and would thereafter treat him as a rascal. I then found it necessary to do you, as well as myself, justice by taking on myself the blame of affronting Smith. You thereupon declared to Arnold that you had of late observed that he viewed every part of your conduct with an eye of prejudice, and begged him to discharge you from his family. You went out of the room in a passion and to Newburgh on business, from which you did not return till the 24th. The dispute between me and Arnold continued very high. I cursed Smith as a damned rascal, a scoundrel and a spy, and said that my reason for affronting him was that I thought him so. I also told Arnold that my advice to him had proceeded from a regard to his reputation, which he repeatedly and confidentially told me he wished should stand well in this State, and which I had very often told him would suffer by an improper intimacy with Smith.

I further told him that Smith's insolence to you and his ungentlemanlike conduct to Mrs. Arnold, in speaking impertinently to you before her in a language she did not understand, justified your treating Smith in the manner you did, and worse, and also merited his resentment instead of countenance. Arnold then told me that he was always willing to be advised by the gentlemen of his family, but, *by God*, would not be dictated to by them ; that he thought he possessed as much prudence as the gentlemen of his family. Some other words ensued, till I had occasion to leave him to despatch an express, and when I returned he had left the office.

In the evening I received a letter of the 19th from Lieutenant - Colonel Benson, of Governor Clinton's family, in answer to one of mine of the 24th August inquiring of Smith's real political character and the truth of some information he had given Arnold and which I thought false. The answer contained an opinion of Smith's character by no means favorable to him. I showed it to Arnold and then told him that I considered his past conduct and language to me unwarrant-

able, and that I thought he did not place that confidence in my repeated friendly assurances and advice which I had a right to expect and which was necessary to put in a person acting in my capacity, and that I could not act longer with propriety. He gave me assurances of his full confidence in me, of a conviction of the rectitude of my conduct, of Smith's being a rascal, and of his error in treating me with such cavalier language, and that he would never go to Smith's house again or be seen with him but in company. All of which I related to you the 24th on your return from Newburgh.

*Question.*—6. How often did Arnold go down the river in his barge whilst I was at Robinson's House? Did I ever attend him, and what were our opinions and conduct on his going down and remaining absent the night of the 21st September?

*Answer.*—He went down once on the 14th to meet you and Mrs. Arnold and returned on the 15th. After that he went down but once, *declaredly* to consult with Major Leavenworth about the disposition of Colonel Meigs's regiment, which had been ordered up

by General Greene, and about the disposition of which Arnold told me he had received no advice from his Excellency or General Greene. You did not accompany him anywhere to my knowledge, except on the 17th to Peekskill to meet his Excellency. I had said so much against Smith that I did not expect he would ever go to lodge at his house again; but when I was informed by you or Mrs. Arnold on the day of the 21st that he was not to return that evening, I suggested to you that I supposed he was gone to Smith's, and that I considered Arnold's treatment of me, in keeping up his connection with Smith in opposition to the warning I had given him, as very ungentleel, and that I was resolved to quit his family. We did thereupon concert the plan of preventing their further intimacy by alarming Mrs. Arnold's fears and asking her influence against it, as she entertained, and had declared to him before me, an unfavorable opinion of Smith, both as a *gentleman and as a man of sincerity*, which we did, and she informed me afterwards that Arnold had made her fair promises not to countenance Smith at all.



You did at the same time inform me that you could not account for his connection with Smith; that you knew him to be an avaricious man and suspected he meant to open trade with some person in New York under sanction of his command by means of flags and *the unprincipled rascal Smith*; that you were induced to suspect it from the letter he wrote to Anderson in a commercial style, as related to you by me. We thereupon pledged to each other our word of honor that if your suspicions should prove to be founded on fact we would instantly quit him.

*Question.*—7. What was Arnold's as well as my conduct and deportment on the day of his desertion, and had you the slightest reason to think that I had been, or was party or privy to any of his villanous practices and correspondences with the enemy, or to his flight? Pray relate the whole of our conduct on that day, to your knowledge.

*Answer.*—I was sick, and a great part of the time in my bed, on the morning of his flight. Before breakfast he came into my room, soon after I entered it, and asked me whether I had answered some letters re-

ceived from Lieutenant-Colonel Jameson and Major Tallmadge, and whether I had written to Governor Clinton inclosing copies of the letters that had passed between him and Colonel Beverly Robinson. I replied, "No, sir, nor am I able to do it." He took Tallmadge's letter out of the office, and said he would write to Tallmadge himself; and I never saw him after it, but betook myself to my bed.

I think it was not an hour thereafter when you came to me and told me Arnold was gone to West Point. General Washington soon arrived and went to West Point also; a considerable time thereafter you came to the window of my room near my bed, and shoving it up hastily, told me with a degree of apparent surprise that you believed Arnold was a villain or rascal, and added that you heard a report that one Anderson was taken as a spy on the lines, and that a militia officer had brought letters to Arnold and that he was enjoined secrecy by Arnold. I made some warm reply, but instantly reflecting that I was injuring a gentleman and a friend of high reputation in a tender point, I told

you it was uncharitable and unwarranted even to suppose it. You coincided in opinion with me, and I lay down secure in the high idea I entertained of Arnold's integrity and patriotism.

Some time in the course of that day, I do not recollect when, but think it was pretty soon after his Excellency arrived, Captain D. Hubbells came into my room, and in conversation told me he saw Arnold's barge going down the river; but that circumstance made no impression on me.

Not long after you mentioned your suspicions to me, Mrs. Arnold called for me and when I waited on her I found from her language and conduct that she was in great pain and had lost her reason, but could not divine the cause. Some time before dinner (the hour I do not know, but I think just before his Excellency General Washington returned from West Point), Mrs. Arnold, recovering her reason in some measure, complained to me that she was left without a friend. I attempted to soothe her by saying she had many friends, enumerating you and myself, and that General Arnold would be

there soon. On my mentioning his name, she replied in great agony: "*Oh, no, no! he is gone, gone, forever!*" I soon left the room, found his Excellency had returned, and that Arnold had not been at West Point; and then, recollecting your declaration while I lay in bed, and his unaccountable and long absence, and Captain Hoagland's having come with despatches to his Excellency, and evading answers to my inquiries with respect to Anderson's being taken, I mentioned to you that I was very apprehensive of his having destroyed himself or gone off, and in *very few* minutes after, we mentioned our fears to Dr. Eustis in confidence, lest we might be deceived and our reputations ruined forever.

We were anxious to advise the General of our suspicions, but fearful of doing it in a direct manner, when Mrs. Arnold's request to see him, to ask for relief, soon furnished us with the opportunity and I waited on his Excellency into her room accordingly.

Soon after and just before dinner, I communicated my suspicions to Colonel Lamb in confidence, and it was not till after dinner

that his Excellency communicated Arnold's perfidy and treachery to us.

I never had any reason from any part of your language and conduct before, on that day or since, to suppose you were party or privy to any part of his villany or to his flight; but your language and conduct on all occasions betrayed a very strong attachment to the rights of our country.

*Question.* — 8. Did I ever, to your knowledge, draw any, or what, stores for Arnold, and what were my declarations on the occasions of his drawing stores? And did I ever draw any orders for the most trifling articles, to your knowledge, without his particular directions?

*Answer.* — I do not of my own knowledge know what stores you ever drew for Arnold; it appears from the commissary's return that you drew some beef, pork, and rum for him in August, and not since.

Two or three days after my joining Arnold, I remember hearing you express your disapprobation of Arnold's bringing so many stores to Robinson's House, saying that in case the enemy should come up expeditiously,

either our baggage or the stores must be lost. I replied that the stores should go to the devil, before I should lose my baggage, and that with Arnold's conduct in that respect I had no concern. I do not know that you gave any orders for anything without his leave or direction; his conduct had been cap-tious towards you, which induced you to act squarely in that particular.

*Question.* — 9. Was any rum and pork or other stores offered for sale or sold by Arnold, and was I privy thereto?

*Answer.* — Arnold requested a Captain Robinson, a river skipper, to sell rum for him, and I prevented any intercourse between them. He also offered for sale to Captain Bard some barrels of pork. I interposed after Bard left him, and induced him to lay aside his intentions; but it appears, from a private memorandum book of his, that he has sold and delivered not only the pork, but some wine and salt, all of which I was uninformed of; but appears from the memorandum book to have taken place while you were at Philadelphia; except two casks of wine, which appear to have been sold the

day before you went. I have every reason to suppose that you knew nothing about these matters (except what I knew of the offers of sales and which I mentioned to you on your return from Philadelphia) until since his desertion.

It is also notorious that a very considerable quantity of salt has been bartered by Mr. Tripp, Commissary of the Flying Hospital, and a Mr. Monell, an assistant State agent for Ulster County, by Arnold's orders, for mutton, poultry, butter, eggs, etc., for the Flying Hospital and himself; whether to your knowledge or not, I can't say; but as soon as I was fully apprised of this matter by Colonel Lamb, after you went to Philadelphia in August, I did so pressing impudently importune Arnold on the impropriety of the measure as to prevail upon him to order Mr. Monell on the 29th August to return the salt he had on hand for those purposes. This salt was not got at West Point, but from some commissary in the country on Arnold's own orders, as I am informed by Lieutenant Tripp.

*Question.* — 10. What line of conduct did

Arnold observe with respect to the stores he had for his own use and in his family matters, and how far did I give orders with respect to either?

*Answer.* — When I first joined Arnold, and for some time after you went to Philadelphia, he kept at least his liquor and small stores in his own private room, and afterwards in a room appointed for that purpose. I never interfered with either, nor did I ever give directions with respect to either, when he was at home. I do not know how far you did, but I recollect that on my mentioning that I would have nothing to do with his private affairs you told me that you did not like to give any orders or to interfere in his family matters, for that he had made it a point to counteract your orders, and that he was very tenacious of ordering and attending to everything himself. With the stores left after Arnold's departure you never had any connection, as you went to Philadelphia the 27th.

RICHARD VARICK

*West Point, November, 1780.*



## SECOND PART

LETTERS BEARING DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY  
UPON THE ARNOLD TREASON, BUT NOT IN-  
CLUDED IN THE "PROCEEDINGS"



The large brass mortar taken from the English when Wayne captured Stony Point, with two small brass mortars taken from Burgoyne at Saratoga; and a portion of the massive chain which the Americans stretched across the river at West Point to obstruct the passage of the vessels of the enemy. The links are made of iron bars 2 1/2 inches square, and average in length a little more than two feet; they weigh about 120 pounds each.

Robinson's House, Sunday Morning,  
October 1, 1780.

*Read this to yourself.*

MY DEAR JANE, —

I now set myself down to my pen and paper to give you a small detail of the most painful scenery and the black *secret* transactions of my late bosom friend and social companion, but now the execrably perfidious and treacherous parricide, the late Major-General Benedict Arnold, of infamous memory, whose thirst after the accursed treasure (British gold) has at one stroke blotted out, and as with a sponge wiped away, the memory of illustrious actions and signal services rendered his country on divers occasions, and stamped his character with all that Infamy can call her own.

You have no doubt heard the particulars; they are

too tedious for my weak memory and trembling hand to recount; when I see my friends I will satisfy them on this head. Let me only inform you that I lay sick in my bed on Monday morning, 25th September about 10 o'clock; Arnold received advice by two letters that Major André, Adjutant-General of the British Army, was taken with sundry papers in Arnold's handwriting, and without waiting to see General Washington, who was within one mile of us, I am informed he called for a horse, bid the officer who brought the letters to be silent, went upstairs and took leave (I suppose) of his more than amiable wife, — left her in a swoon and rode off to the lands, telling Major Franks to advise General Washington that he was gone on some business to West Point, and would return in an hour; and rowed down the river with his barge crew and passed King's Ferry as a flagg and went on board the *Vulture*, a British man-of-war. This infamous business had been carried on by Joshua H. Smith, brother of Billy Smith, Esquire, now in New York, who with André, have, I hope, shared their proper fate.

General Washington came here and was informed, as Arnold had told Franks, and he to me. I then rose from my bed, dressed, and paid my respects to the General, the Marquis, General Knox, &c., but my fever obliged me to retire again. When the General had breakfasted, he went to West Point in expectation of meeting Arnold there, and about an hour thereafter Mrs. Arnold (good woman) inquired how I was from the housekeeper and bid her go and see

(that amiable lady had the Sunday evening before spent an hour at my bedside while I lay in a high fever, made tea for me, and paid me the utmost attention in my illness). No sooner had the house-keeper turned her back but Mrs. Arnold pursued her raving (sick), mad to see him, with her hair dishevelled and flowing about her neck; her morning gown with few other clothes remained on her, — too few to be seen even by a gentleman of the family, much less by many strangers. I heard a shriek to me and sprang from my bed, ran upstairs, and there met the miserable lady, raving distracted; she seized me by the hand with this, to me distressing, address and a wild look: "*Colonel Varick, have you ordered my child to be killed?*" Judge you of my feelings at such a question, from this most amiable and distressed of her sex, whom I most valued. She fell on her knees at my feet with prayers and intreaties *to spare her innocent babe*. A scene too shocking for my feelings, in a state of body and nerves thus so weakened by indisposition and a burning fever, I attempted to raise her up, but in vain. Major Franks and Dr. Eustice soon arrived, and we carried her to her bed, raving mad. I must stop this detail till I see you. I know no cause for *all this*.

When she seemed a little composed she burst again into pitiable tears and exclaimed to me, alone on her bed with her, that she had not a friend left here. I told her she had Franks and me, and General Arnold would soon be home from West Point with General Washington. She exclaimed, "*No*,

General Arnold will never return, he is gone ; he is gone forever, *there, there, there*, the spirits have carried up there, they have put hot irons in his head ;" pointing that he was gone up to the ceiling. This alarmed me much. I felt apprehensive of something more than ordinary having occasioned her hysterics and utter frenzy. Soon after General Washington returned from West Point without Arnold ; this convinced me all was not right. She soon after told there was a hot iron on her head and no one but General Washington could take it off, and wanted to see the General. I waited on his Excellency, informed him of all matters, and Mrs. Arnold's request. I attended him to her bedside and told her there was General Washington. She said no, it was not. The General assured her he was, but she exclaimed no, that is not General Washington ; that is the man who was agoing to assist Colonel Varick in killing my child. She repeated the same sad story about General Arnold. Poor distressed, unhappy, frantic, and miserable lady.

The next day, 26th, she recovered a little and remembered nothing of what happened on the 25th. On the 27th she left us, escorted by Major Franks, for Philadelphia, by leave of his Excellency.

General Washington had by this time, 2nd, indubitable proofs of the infamous practices of Arnold. It was now four o'clock of the 25th and we sat down to dinner in a strange manner ; I had a high fever, but officiated at the head of the table. Franks at-

tended also when Mrs. Arnold's affairs would permit. Dull appetites surrounded a plentiful table. His Excellency behaved with his usual affability and politeness to me. The matter was certain.

After dinner some time his Excellency called to me to take my hat and walk out with him, which I did. He thus declared he had the most indubitable proofs of Arnold's treachery and perfidy. I told him I was sorry for it, and he said he had not the least cause of suspicion of Major Franks or myself, but that his duty as an officer made it necessary to inform me that I must consider myself as a prisoner, in which I, as politely as I could, acquiesced. It was what I expected. I then told him the little all I knew. [*The remainder of this letter is missing, and could not be found among Colonel Varick's papers.*]

*Headquarters, Robinson's House,  
September 3, 1780.*

DEAR SIR, —

I have this moment received a letter from his Excellency General Washington, yesterday date, which informs me that the enemy are in preparation for some important movement, and as this post may possibly be their object, I now call upon you in the most earnest manner to collect every possible supply of provisions for the garrison.<sup>1</sup> Our stock

<sup>1</sup> This letter, contrary to Arnold's practice in official correspondence, is in his own handwriting; it seems to throw some light upon the charges that Arnold was trying to turn the public supplies into private channels, for it is difficult to see what interest he could have had in stocking up with supplies the garrison

of salted provision is very small, — that of fresh is less, — and the magazine has within a few days been exhausted of flour to supply the main army. You must be sensible that our situation is truly critical, and if these parts are invested before a supply of provisions arrive, they can hold out but a very few days. I make no doubt you will use every possible exertion, tho' not strictly within the line of your duty. I wish you to send express to Chester, Warwick, and Sussex to hurry on the flour at those places.

Colonel Stewart informs me that he is advised by Colonel Blain that there is a large quantity of rum at Springfield. I think it would be advisable to send an express to hurry it on, as the main army are entirely out and our stock is very small. The barrel of fish you mentioned to be sent to West Point never arrived. I should be glad of it, as well as of the crackers and flour.

I am, dear Sir, your most obedient servant,

B. ARNOLD

*To Mr. Stephens.*

*Headquarters, Robinson's House,  
September 4, 1780.*

DEAR SIR, —

His Excellency General Washington informs me that he is apprehensive that the enemy intend to attack on the posts in the Highlands. When that

which he was preparing to surrender. It may be compared with the written testimony of Mrs. Martin and Assistant Commissary Marshall in the Proceedings. — ED.



immediately on board the "Hercules", Cannon & Co. Agents  
at New York City, N.Y.

It has been said that many of the best men have been the most uneducated.

John Brown  
Sept. 20. 1860

Dear Sir

Head J. M. Robinsons Room

Edith

Your favor of the 5<sup>th</sup> of Dec. I received yesterday  
 and am very sorry to hear you are unwell. I hope soon to  
 have the pleasure of seeing you <sup>here</sup> in perfect health, from

From some movements of the Enemy the  
General was apprehensive they meditated an attack on  
some one of his Regts to yank to take the General of the troops on the line  
his Army or their Regts; General being by the way  
two days knew informs me his hair <sup>on the</sup> head outside,

[illegible]

and requesting meeting with father as far as the Children  
are able; this measure shall will be attended with happy  
consequences to the Family ~~and~~ for if father is not warm to the  
among these Prophets with Deacons there to discuss. and  
the Family every body be left to the temper of the Convent  
I suppose by this time you have heard  
of the workshop State of our Southwestern County, who by their  
depression have not been improved by the feeling of their depression  
former / are most probably depressed, if not totally

but of the Southwestern State left entirely <sup>entirely</sup>

it is by my argument and some happily entirely

hand for her in New York by Edmund with about eighteen months

part which they would not being on with have last there was

time with Major Price. - He by her decided to

some times have since agreed to let William to continue to get them

out by one of his steps which he promised to do, and said our

disengagement of they long went out. They will be in a shop

a private house if they will come out when you are on the

land by the time of your to take care of them & two thousand

one - I am not there is a family Order for the shop any good

very much to show the out of New York, but on the good was

light. many months before the Order was made I do not remember the

time and the intention of the Order it. - however heard not think

my themselves to be mentioned in the Order of the Order of the Order of the Order

Now indicated so long as to require any thing or words  
at all to create it as you are on the spot you  
will be the last fringes of the thing to create it  
perhaps in any movement of the body as the  
being of it is in the heart to receive the thing to  
the heart or just hand in the body to be used

matter is ascertained and they appear in force, it is his intention to have Stony and Verplank's Points evacuated and the cannon royals and stores removed to this place, for which purpose I have by his orders sent down sixty flat-bottom boats with five men in each under the command of Captain John Denny, of the batteaumen, who has orders to put himself under your command and follow your directions. Whenever the enemy appear in force near your post, and it is clearly demonstrated to you that they intend an attack on these posts, you will immediately embark all the troops, stores, cannon, &c., at King's Ferry and come with them to West Point. This measure is not to be undertaken precipitately, or on any slight alarm ; nor neglected so long as to risque anything or render it difficult to execute. As you are on the spot you will be the best judge of the time proper to execute it.

Perhaps on any movement of the enemy up the river it will be prudent to remove the stores to the landing, or put them in the boats, to be ready, so that no time may be lost in case the movement of the enemy should be rapid.<sup>1</sup>

I am, dear sir, your obedient servant,

B. ARNOLD

*To Colonel Livingston, at King's Ferry.*

<sup>1</sup> This order, also written by Arnold himself, should be read in connection with a letter of September 19, in which Arnold makes careful preparations to lend the appearance of military resistance to his proposed surrender. It does not appear that Washington gave any such orders as are here described by Arnold. — ED.

*Headquarters Robinson's House,  
September 8, 1780.*

DEAR SIR, —

Your favor of the 5th instant I received yesterday and am very sorry to hear you are unwell. I hope soon to have the pleasure of seeing you here in perfect health.

From some movements of the enemy the General was apprehensive they meditated an attack on his army or their posts, which occasioned his order to you to take the command of the troops on the lines. General Schuyler, who was here two days since, informs me his fears on this head have subsided.

Your observations on the resolutions of Congress I think perfectly just. I believe the army in general are fully convinced that their wish and intention is to disgust and disband us in detail as soon as they can; their contracted politics and little souls will not suffer them to admire or reward the virtues they cannot imitate. I believe the officers will unite (as soon as they know the final resolutions of Congress respecting the remonstrance) in some spirited measures, to do themselves justice.<sup>1</sup> I

<sup>1</sup> The suggestion that the officers unite in a remonstrance to Congress on the question of half pay was subsequently attempted in the so called Newburgh Addresses prepared by Major John Armstrong in 1783. The suggestion is one of the most characteristic evidences of the variety of means which Arnold resorted to for opening up direct correspondence through the British lines, and may be compared with Varick's testimony

Ad  
I have just received a letter from the  
At last I am acquainted and have been looking for the  
2 Major Pitts  
and about Captain Mitchell  
and he is now at the big school with  
heart, which I suppose not being anything like  
I have seen  
I have with Major Pitts. — He says I have decided to  
some letters have since I began to let them to continue to get them  
out by one of his things which he promised to do, and said our  
disengagement of things being not out. They will be in a shop  
or private school if they ~~will~~ come out when you are on the  
board of the same of you to take care of them & two hundred  
one — I am so there is a general order prohibiting any goods  
being purchased strong for out of New York, but on the good we  
ought, many of the things before the order was given I do not remember they  
I am used to the intention of the matter — I am sure I am not  
I am not

and repeating in mind with fasten as far as the Father  
can able; this manner shall be attended with happy  
consequences to the family ~~and~~ for if Father is not near to the  
Camp these manifestations will be more to his hands. and  
the Society every season be left to the keeping of the Son  
who appears by this time you have heard  
of the unhappy state of our Southern Camp, who by the  
danger has not been ~~undisturbed~~ <sup>interrupted</sup> by the fear of their being  
separated / and most probably separated, if not totally



recommend sending a small committee of a thousand or fifteen hundred men of all ranks in the army to Congress to present a spirited but decent memorial setting forth their claims, and requesting immediate justice as far as the public are able. This measure I think would be attended with happy consequences to the country; for if justice is not done to the army their necessities will occasion them to disband, and the country will of course be left to the ravages of the enemy.

I suppose by this time you have heard of the unhappy fate of our Southern Army, who — if their danger has not been exaggerated by the fears of the doughty General [Gates] — are most probably departed, if not totally cut off, and the Southern States left entirely defenceless.

A lady of my acquaintance had some trifling articles purchased for her in New York by Colonel Webb and Major Giles about eighteen months past, which they could not bring out; they have lain there ever since with Major Giles. By her desire, I have some little time since requested Colonel Sheldon to endeavor to get them out by one of his flags, which he promised to do, and gives me encouragement of their being sent out. They will be in a box, or small trunk, — if they come out when you are on the lines, I beg the favor of you to take care of them and send them to me [*device*

as to Arnold's plan of correspondence with Beverly Robinson. Inasmuch as the letter is not included in the Proceedings of the court martial, it seems probable that it did not come into Varick's hands until later. — ED.

*for getting letters from the British*]. I am told there is a General Order prohibiting any goods being purchased and brought out of New York, but as the goods were bought many months before the order was issued, I do not conceive they come under the intentions or spirit of it. However, I would not wish my name to be mentioned in the matter, as it may give occasion for scandal.

I am, with kind regards,

Your obedient servant,

B. ARNOLD

*To General Parsons.*

*Headquarters, Robinson's House,  
September 8, 1780.*

DEAR SIR, —

I do myself the honor to inclose your Excellency copy of a letter from Colonel Hay of the 5th inst. In answer to his letter I informed him that our force on the lines was already inadequate to the duty required to be done in that quarter, and that I did not think it prudent to withdraw the two companies of Malcolm's Brigade without first advising with your Excellency on this subject; and that I should inform him of the result as soon as I was favored with your orders.<sup>1</sup> I shall therefore

<sup>1</sup> This communication to Washington reveals Arnold's cleverness in obscuring his real designs and warding off suspicion. It was part of his scheme to appear to consult the Commander-in-Chief and to follow his instructions implicitly as to the conduct of his military district. At this very time Arnold was employing every means at his command to secure an interview with the British representative. — ED.

Productions by J. J. J.

to J. J. J.  
Mar. 19

Head & Lib. 7. Vol. 1. Mass.

Sept. 12. 1840

Dear Sir

I am favored of this 7<sup>th</sup> conveying <sup>the</sup> an answer  
of our misfortune to the south wind was delivered  
me <sup>in</sup> this ~~day~~ <sup>of the 7<sup>th</sup></sup> ~~at 11 o'clock~~ <sup>at 11 o'clock</sup>

I am happy to find that your qualities; Information  
was so ill founded. - It is an unfortunate piece  
of business to that there money possibly lost this  
eventually with indelible Infamy. - ~~It is~~  
It may not be right to <sup>conserve</sup> ~~conserve~~ <sup>character</sup> at a distance  
but I cannot avoid remarking that his conduct  
on this occasion has ~~been~~ in no wise disappointed  
my expectations or predictions on frequent occasions  
I hope that ~~of~~ the suggestions of his friends that  
he had not returned to the Banks of Virginia, he  
must have been at a great distance & pretty  
secure from danger, ~~As~~ he had no business of the  
extent of the Maryland troops for ~~at least~~ <sup>at least</sup> ~~for~~ <sup>for</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> days. -

I am ~~very~~ <sup>very</sup> ~~glad~~ <sup>glad</sup> ~~to~~ <sup>to</sup> ~~hear~~ <sup>hear</sup> ~~of~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~7<sup>th</sup>~~ <sup>7<sup>th</sup></sup> ~~by~~ <sup>by</sup> ~~Capt. P. Van~~  
Der Horst & V. M. Call were declined me by Messrs  
Gentle on the 9<sup>th</sup>. - I have discharged & send in their  
further pleasure to them, during their short stay  
with me, which <sup>Egypt</sup> ~~shall~~ <sup>shall</sup> always be happy to  
pay to my gentleman ~~with~~ <sup>with</sup> ~~intelle~~ <sup>intelle</sup> ~~honesty~~ <sup>honesty</sup>  
of your introduction & recommendation.

It is a matter much to be lamented that  
any

[illegible]

When shall I see you here. As the General  
will be my own Officer?  
The Returns can be made with safety is not.  
Told Worsley in a letter of the 20<sup>th</sup> informs me, that  
he had not yet rec<sup>d</sup>. the Stores in to his hands, &  
many of them are very much.

with Instruments of the new Science  
by David A. H. H. H., from

Believe me  
Ever  
Yours  
C. C. Jones

Continued

26. 11. 1871



be happy to receive your Excellency's directions as to this matter by the returning express.

I have the honor to be, with every sentiment of regard and respect, your Excellency's most obedient and very humble servant,

R[ICHARD] V[ARICK], for B. A[RNOLD]

*His Excellency, General Washington.*

*Headquarters, Robinson's House,  
September 12, 1780.*

DEAR SIR, —

Your favor of the 7th conveying to me an account of our misfortunes to the southward was delivered me on the 8th.

I am happy to find that General Gates's information was so ill-founded. It is an unfortunate piece of business to that hero, and may possibly blot his escutcheon with indelible infamy. It may not be right to censure characters at a distance, but I cannot avoid remarking that his conduct on this occasion has in no wise disappointed my expectations or predictions on frequent occasions, and notwithstanding the suggestions of his friends that he had not retreated to the borders of Virginia, he must have been at a great distance and pretty secure from danger, as he had no advices of the retreat of the Maryland troops for at least four days.

Yours of the 8th by Captain Vanderhorst and Lieutenant McCall were delivered me by those gentlemen on the 9th. I have endeavored to render their situations pleasing to them, during their short stay with me, which respect I shall always

be happy to pay to any gentleman who entitles himself to your introduction and recommendation.

It is a matter much to be lamented that our army is permitted to starve in a land of plenty. There is a fault somewhere ; it ought to be traced up to its authors, and if it was [*word unintelligible* ; see facsimile] they ought to be capitally punished. This is in my opinion the only measure left to procure a regular supply to the army in future.

Where shall I procure papers for the garrison, as well as my own office ? No returns can be made till a supply is sent. Colonel Pickering in a letter of the 28th informs me that he had not yet received the stores into his hands, or money to purchase any with.<sup>1</sup>

With sentiments of the most sincere regard and affection, I am, dear sir, your obedient servant,

B. A.

*To Major-General Greene.*

*Headquarters Robinson's House,  
September 13, 1780.*

DEAR SIR,—

Your favor of the 12th is now before me.

A variety of circumstances confirm my suspicions

<sup>1</sup> This letter, including the signature in initials, is wholly in Varick's hand, presumably a draft of the communication actually sent. It is significant that the complaint of lack of proper blanks upon which to make returns of the garrison comes on the very day Arnold went down the river to pass through the lines, but was by mistake fired on by the British guard-boat. — ED.





Head Quarters Bergen County 14<sup>th</sup> Sept.  
1780

Dear Sir

I have received your favor of the 11<sup>th</sup> and  
12<sup>th</sup>. I have no objection to your sending the two  
pieces of Cannon to Fort Mifflin.

Under the circumstances you mention  
you may detain the Men of Colo Putnam's Reg  
who are serving as Berguesmen to you, and if you  
can withdraw the Battalion men sent down to Kings  
ferry, with convenience, it will be a measure  
entirely agreeable to me.

I hope Colo Mays plans for obtaining a  
supply of Flour from the State of New York, and  
his application to the people of the Grants, will  
be made with success. He is a faithful and  
indispensable Officer.

I am Dear Sir

P. S. I have been published in London. Your modesty and the  
evening of my way to Scotland & must be  
I trust, around and ground you will  
be pleased to find down - Ground of a  
Captain and fully as the time, and send

Dr. Mr. to endevour to have a night

up for about 60 Men. If you will keep this to yourself, as I would  
not my journey a great

Major Genl. Arnold

Wm. Mifflin

From Geo. B. Loring  
Apr. 14. 1860  
22. 15. 16.

From your dear husband  
Sept. 14. 1800  
22. 15. 16.

that my letter to Mr. Anderson was intercepted by the enemy, and unanswered. I was at the Block House at Dobbs's Ferry on Monday, agreeable to the mode pointed out in the letter, and remained there till three o'clock in the afternoon; but saw no flag.<sup>1</sup>

I am sorry to hear that Mr. Hunter can furnish you with no material intelligence.

It gives me pain to know your situation, and that your reputation is aspersed and vilified by a person of Mr. Stoddard's character. I shall be happy to know of his being baffled in any unjust attempt of that kind.

I am, with affectionate wishes,

Your obedient and very humble servant,

B. A. [*Written by Colonel Varick*]

*To Colonel Sheldon.*

*Headquarters, Bergen County,  
14th September, 1780.*

DEAR SIR, —

I have received your favors of the 11th and 12th. I have no objection to your sending the two pieces of cannon to Colonel Gouvian.

Under the circumstances you mention, you may detain the men of Colonel Putnam's Regiment who

<sup>1</sup> Nowhere in the whole history of the treason is Arnold's audacity better shown than in this acknowledgment to an American officer that he came down to "meet Mr. Andreson." He does not, however, state to Colonel Sheldon that almost at the same moment he is writing to Anderson (André) to meet him on the 20th. — ED.

are serving as bargemen<sup>1</sup> to you, and if you can withdraw the batteaumen sent down to King's Ferry, with convenience, it will be a measure entirely agreeable to me.

I hope Colonel Hay's plans for obtaining a supply of flour from the State of New York, and his application to the people of the Grants, will both meet with success. He is a faithful and indefatigable officer.

I am, dear Sir,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

GEORGE WASHINGTON<sup>2</sup>

P. S. I shall be at Peekskill on Sunday evening on my way to Hartford to meet the French Admiral and General. You will be pleased to send down a guard of a Captain and fifty at that time, and direct the Quarter-Master to endeavor to have a night's forage for about forty horses. You will keep this to yourself, as I want to make my journey a secret.

*To Major-General Arnold.*

*Headquarters, Robinson's House,  
September 16, 1780.*

DEAR SIR,—

Last evening I was honored with your Excellency's favor of the 14th.

<sup>1</sup> The bargemen, whose retention Washington here authorizes, were afterwards very serviceable to Arnold in taking him down the river from West Point, when he made his escape. Washington's visit to Hartford took him out of the way at the moment, which Arnold selected as opportune for consummating his treason.—ED.

<sup>2</sup> This is Washington's last letter to Arnold.

I have given orders for the guard requested, as also to the Quarter-Master to furnish forage at Mr. Birdsall's for the number of horses mentioned in your Excellency's letter.

My answer to the questions proposed by your Excellency relative to the Council of War I will do myself the honor to deliver in person.<sup>1</sup>

I am, with sentiments of the most profound respect and esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

B. ARNOLD<sup>2</sup>

*His Excellency, General Washington.*

September 14, 1780.

SIR, —

In answer to your Excellency's questions proposed to the Council of General Officers on the 6th inst., I beg leave to observe, that from the uncertainty of the arrival of the Second Division of the French Fleet, as well as of their force, and from the fluctuating situation of our affairs, which may be totally changed in a short time by a variety of circumstances

<sup>1</sup> This formal letter is in Varick's handwriting. The answer referred to is carefully written out by Arnold himself (see facsimile letter dated September 14, 1780). Although eager to see his Commander-in-Chief safely out of sight to the eastward, Arnold was obliged, as an officer of high rank, to give his advice with regard to the joint command with the French, which he was at that moment endeavoring to make wholly useless. With his accustomed bravado he makes use of this occasion to advise no concentration of troops near New York, where none knew so well as he they were likely to be needed. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> This is Arnold's last letter to Washington before the treason.

which may happen, it appears extremely difficult for me to determine with any degree of precision the line of conduct proper to be observed.

If the Second Division of the French Fleet may be soon expected, and their force, — of which I am ignorant, — will give us a decided superiority over the enemy, as well by land as sea, I am of opinion that every necessary preparation and disposition should be made to attack New York, — provided we have a sufficiency of ammunition and military stores, and there is a prospect when the army is collected of their being supplied with provisions (the former I doubt); but if there is not good reason to suppose the Second Division of the French Fleet with a force superior to that of the enemy will arrive in the course of a month, I am of opinion no offensive operations can with prudence be undertaken this fall against New York; in which case it is possible the enemy will detach a part of their force in New York to join those in South Carolina, or to co-operate with them in Virginia or Maryland. I am therefore of opinion that the Pennsylvania line, which I suppose to amount to 2500 or 3000 men, should hold themselves in readiness to march, and if the Second Division of the French Fleet does not arrive by the first of October, that then the Pennsylvania line should march to the relief of the Southern States, who with the aid of so formidable a regular force (if they do their duty) will be able to repel the enemy in that quarter; and if the French Fleet should arrive too late to operate





There are no opinion operations now with prudence  
be undertaken that will against New York, in which  
case it is with the enemy will detach a part of  
their force in New York to join those in S. Carolina  
or to co-operate with them in Virginia or Maryland.  
I am therefore of opinion that the Pennsylvania line  
which I suppose to amount to 2500 or 3000, we should  
have themselves in readiness to march, and of the  
second Division of the French Fleet does not arrive by  
the first of October, that then the Pennsylvania line  
should advance to the Relief of the Southern States  
who with the Aid of so formidable a Regular Force.  
If they do their duty will be able to reject the enemy  
in that quarter, and of the French Fleet should move  
to take co-operation against New York, South Carolina  
may be an object worthy their attention.

Without a divided superiority by sea  
I am of opinion no opinion operations against the  
enemy can with prudence be undertaken this fall,  
and it is to be hoped that the States on my this time  
enormous of the necessity of immediately raising an  
Army, to be engaged during the war, and that they  
will without loss of time take effectual measures for

that purpose. — I should suppose the Pennsylvania  
line might be replaced by some of the troops at  
Rhode Island, before the time is expired for which  
the militia are called out.

I have the honor to be with

the highest respects

Your excellency

Most Obedient  
and very Humble Servant

Robt Smeltzer

His Excellency

General Washington

Sept. 14<sup>th</sup> 1780

Sir

In answer to your Excellency's questions proposed to the Council of General Officers on the 6<sup>th</sup> Inst. I beg leave to observe, that from the uncertainty of the Arrival of the second Division of the French Fleet, as well as of their Force, and from the fluctuating situation of our affairs, which may be totally changed in a short time by a variety of circumstances which may happen, It appears extremely difficult for me to determine with any degree of precision the line of conduct proper to be observed.

If the second Division of the French Fleet may be soon expected, and their Force, of which I am ignorant, will give us a decided superiority over the Enemy as well by land as sea, I am of Opinion that every necessary preparation and disposition should be made to attack New York provided we have a sufficient quantity of Ammunition and Military Stores, and there is a prospect when the Army is collected of their being supplied with provisions, the former I doubt not. But if there is not good reason to suppose the second Division of the French Fleet with a few Superior to that of the Enemy will arise in the Course of a Month, I am



against New York, South Carolina may be an object worthy their attention.

Without a decided superiority by sea, I am of opinion no offensive operations against the enemy can with prudence be undertaken this fall, and it is to be hoped that the States are by this time convinced of the necessity of immediately raising an army, to be engaged during the war, and that they will, without loss of time, take effectual measures for that purpose. I should suppose the Pennsylvania line might be replaced by some of the troops at Rhode Island, before the time is expired for which the militia are called out.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respects,

Your Excellency's most obedient and very  
humble servant,

B. ARNOLD<sup>1</sup>

*His Excellency, General Washington.*

*Headquarters, Robinson's House,*

*September 16, 1780.*

DEAR SIR,—

Having received his Excellency's approbation of my proposal to send two pieces of artillery to the officer commanding at Dobbs's Ferry, I am to request that you will order two of the stocked nine-pounders with their apparatus complete, and fifty rounds round shot, and a few rounds of grape to each, to be put on board of one or two batteaus and sent down under

<sup>1</sup> It will be observed from the accompanying facsimile that this letter is penned with great precision; it is one of the most carefully composed that ever fell from Arnold's pen.

care of a proper officer and party, to the officer commanding at Dobbs's Ferry.<sup>1</sup>

I am, with sincere regard and esteem, dear Sir,  
Your obedient servant,

B. A. [*Written by Colonel Varick*]

*To Colonel Lamb.*

*Headquarters, Robinson's House,*

*September 19, 1780.<sup>2</sup>*

DEAR SIR,—

I am advised by Captain Archibald, who is returned with a flag from the *Vulture* British man-of-war, that the captain thereof had informed him he had since his coming up the river taken up forty flat-bottom boats which have driven down from your posts and the posts above you past your water-guards. Captain Archibald also informs me that a number are lying on shore between your posts and Taller's [*sic*] Point. You will please to order those within your power to be immediately collected, drawn on shore and properly secured, and pointedly enjoin the most proper attention and vigilance with respect to the boats remaining at your posts and that

<sup>1</sup> This order to Lamb was compelled by the fact that Arnold had been obliged to communicate Lamb's reasonable request to Washington. It was eventually the means of defeating Arnold's treason, inasmuch as the two guns drove the *Vulture* down stream, so that Arnold could not go on board to meet André, as had been his first intention. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> Inasmuch as Arnold had now reached the resolution to bring a British officer on shore to confer with him at Smith's, this formal letter, issued in Varick's handwriting, was necessary in order to disarm suspicion. — ED.

Apr. 20. 1880

to the Livingston

三

Rev. J. Amos, Jr., Boston.

Sept. 19. 1780

Pl. as immediately collected

those within your power, commenced  
drawn in those properly secured, & pointedly  
enjoin the most proper Attention, with respect to  
the most proper & that may have of this lower degree

the Boats now arriving at ~~the~~ <sup>your</sup> ~~posts~~ <sup>office</sup> of  
from the Boats herewith. <sup>of</sup> ~~your~~ <sup>affairs</sup> ~~being~~ <sup>being</sup> in an  
my respect of your Affairs in this respect in an  
exemplary manner.

I am also informed that the two pieces of  
Artillery which landed the week from this  
Post to Dobbs; have were ~~sent~~ sent on  
Board of a Schooner in ~~town~~ of Baltimore; As it  
probable the Boat will not be able to  
draw while any of the Scurry's Remains  
lye in the river, think it  
advisable to ~~send~~ put them in Baltimore &



And the Government of Officers  
shall them down  
11. may find favorable light.

at Boston, being the only professor  
of the Southern influence on that side of the river.

[illegible]

The history of the State with the various opinions  
 of the people.

1847  
 1848  
 1849  
 1850  
 1851  
 1852  
 1853  
 1854  
 1855  
 1856  
 1857  
 1858  
 1859  
 1860  
 1861  
 1862  
 1863  
 1864  
 1865  
 1866  
 1867  
 1868  
 1869  
 1870  
 1871  
 1872  
 1873  
 1874  
 1875  
 1876  
 1877  
 1878  
 1879  
 1880  
 1881  
 1882  
 1883  
 1884  
 1885  
 1886  
 1887  
 1888  
 1889  
 1890  
 1891  
 1892  
 1893  
 1894  
 1895  
 1896  
 1897  
 1898  
 1899  
 1900  
 1901  
 1902  
 1903  
 1904  
 1905  
 1906  
 1907  
 1908  
 1909  
 1910  
 1911  
 1912  
 1913  
 1914  
 1915  
 1916  
 1917  
 1918  
 1919  
 1920  
 1921  
 1922  
 1923  
 1924  
 1925  
 1926  
 1927  
 1928  
 1929  
 1930  
 1931  
 1932  
 1933  
 1934  
 1935  
 1936  
 1937  
 1938  
 1939  
 1940  
 1941  
 1942  
 1943  
 1944  
 1945  
 1946  
 1947  
 1948  
 1949  
 1950  
 1951  
 1952  
 1953  
 1954  
 1955  
 1956  
 1957  
 1958  
 1959  
 1960  
 1961  
 1962  
 1963  
 1964  
 1965  
 1966  
 1967  
 1968  
 1969  
 1970  
 1971  
 1972  
 1973  
 1974  
 1975  
 1976  
 1977  
 1978  
 1979  
 1980  
 1981  
 1982  
 1983  
 1984  
 1985  
 1986  
 1987  
 1988  
 1989  
 1990  
 1991  
 1992  
 1993  
 1994  
 1995  
 1996  
 1997  
 1998  
 1999  
 2000  
 2001  
 2002  
 2003  
 2004  
 2005  
 2006  
 2007  
 2008  
 2009  
 2010  
 2011  
 2012  
 2013  
 2014  
 2015  
 2016  
 2017  
 2018  
 2019  
 2020  
 2021  
 2022  
 2023  
 2024  
 2025  
 2026  
 2027  
 2028  
 2029  
 2030  
 2031  
 2032  
 2033  
 2034  
 2035  
 2036  
 2037  
 2038  
 2039  
 2040  
 2041  
 2042  
 2043  
 2044  
 2045  
 2046  
 2047  
 2048  
 2049  
 2050  
 2051  
 2052  
 2053  
 2054  
 2055  
 2056  
 2057  
 2058  
 2059  
 2060  
 2061  
 2062  
 2063  
 2064  
 2065  
 2066  
 2067  
 2068  
 2069  
 2070  
 2071  
 2072  
 2073  
 2074  
 2075  
 2076  
 2077  
 2078  
 2079  
 2080  
 2081  
 2082  
 2083  
 2084  
 2085  
 2086  
 2087  
 2088  
 2089  
 2090  
 2091  
 2092  
 2093  
 2094  
 2095  
 2096  
 2097  
 2098  
 2099  
 2100  
 2101  
 2102  
 2103  
 2104  
 2105  
 2106  
 2107  
 2108  
 2109  
 2110  
 2111  
 2112  
 2113  
 2114  
 2115  
 2116  
 2117  
 2118  
 2119  
 2120  
 2121  
 2122  
 2123  
 2124  
 2125  
 2126  
 2127  
 2128  
 2129  
 2130  
 2131  
 2132  
 2133  
 2134  
 2135  
 2136  
 2137  
 2138  
 2139  
 2140  
 2141  
 2142  
 2143  
 2144  
 2145  
 2146  
 2147  
 2148  
 2149  
 2150  
 2151  
 2152  
 2153  
 2154  
 2155  
 2156  
 2157  
 2158  
 2159  
 2160  
 2161  
 2162  
 2163  
 2164  
 2165  
 2166  
 2167  
 2168  
 2169  
 2170  
 2171  
 2172  
 2173  
 2174  
 2175  
 2176  
 2177  
 2178  
 2179  
 2180  
 2181  
 2182  
 2183  
 2184  
 2185  
 2186  
 2187  
 2188  
 2189  
 2190  
 2191  
 2192  
 2193  
 2194  
 2195  
 2196  
 2197  
 2198  
 2199  
 2200  
 2201  
 2202  
 2203  
 2204  
 2205  
 2206  
 2207  
 2208  
 2209  
 2210  
 2211  
 2212  
 2213  
 2214  
 2215  
 2216  
 2217  
 2218  
 2219  
 2220  
 2221  
 2222  
 2223  
 2224  
 2225  
 2226  
 2227  
 2228  
 2229  
 2230  
 2231  
 2232  
 2233  
 2234  
 2235  
 2236  
 2237  
 2238  
 2239  
 2240  
 2241  
 2242  
 2243  
 2244  
 2245  
 2246  
 2247  
 2248  
 2249  
 2250  
 2251  
 2252  
 2253  
 2254  
 2255  
 2256  
 2257  
 2258  
 2259  
 2260  
 2261  
 2262  
 2263  
 2264  
 2265  
 2266  
 2267  
 2268  
 2269  
 2270  
 2271  
 2272  
 2273  
 2274  
 2275  
 2276  
 2277  
 2278  
 2279  
 2280  
 2281  
 2282  
 2283  
 2284  
 2285  
 2286  
 2287  
 2288  
 2289  
 2290  
 2291  
 2292  
 2293  
 2294  
 2295  
 2296  
 2297  
 2298  
 2299  
 2300  
 2301

Send them down to the Seminary Office  
at North's Ferry the very first favorable opportunity.

This Excellency informs me that both Messrs  
Ligonier & on the March to reinforce your  
Party the 1000 or thereabouts you will send me  
equal numbers of the Books who will be sent  
in the Ballance to the Port without

Charge. — I am, Sir, with sentiments to

Dear Sir, Dear Sir, of the same. Your Obedt Servt

B. A.

It is not of the same with the others of your

Books just sent down.

may hereafter drive down from the posts north of you, and punish any neglect of, or inattention to, your orders in this respect in an exemplary manner.

I am also informed that the two pieces of artillery which I ordered to be sent from this post to Dobbs's Ferry were put on board of a sloop instead of batteaus. As it is probable the boat will not be able to go down while any of the enemy's armed vessels remain in the river, I think it advisable to put them in batteaus and send them down to the commanding officer at Dobbs's Ferry the very first favorable opportunity.

His Excellency informs me that Colonel Spencer's regiment is on its march to reinforce your post. As soon as that arrives you will send an equal number of the troops who were detached from hence in the batteaus, to this post without delay.

I am, dear sir, with sentiment of esteem,

Your obedient servant,

B. A. [*per R. V.*]

*To Colonel James Livingston.*

## PASSES BY FLAG, TO TORY WOMEN<sup>1</sup>

BY THE HONORABLE BENEDICT ARNOLD, ESQUIRE, MAJOR-GENERAL IN THE ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES, COMMANDING IN A SEPARATE DEPARTMENT.

Permission is granted to Messrs. Nathaniel Garrison, Thomas Bullas, Jacob Sharpstone, and Isaac

<sup>1</sup> These passes were the consummation of a scheme set forth in the Proceedings for opening communication across the lines.

Filkins, to proceed in four wagons with two horses each, with a flag, by the shortest route from the post to the nearest British post at King's Bridge; taking with them Mary Ham, wife of Frederick Ham, with three children, the eldest seven years old; Lucy German, wife of Isaac German, and one child eight years old; Mary Munger, wife of — Munger, and her child, three years old; Sarah Munger, wife of — Munger, and her child, two years old; and Elizabeth German, wife of — German, with her two children, the eldest seven years old; who have my leave to pass into the British lines where they the said Garrison, Bullas, Sharpstone and Filkins are to leave them, and return with their horses and wagons without delay.

Given under my hand at headquarters, Robinson's House, September 19, 1780.

By the General's Command,

R[ICHARD] V[ARICK]  
Secretary

Robinson's House in the Highlands,  
September 26, 1780.

SIR, —

You will have heard, probably before the receipt of this, that Major-General Arnold has gone to New York, and that the Adjutant-General of the British Army and Mr. Joshua Smith who were concerned

They appear to have been the last official act of Arnold which went through Varick's hands previous to Arnold's conference with André on the morning of September 22d. — ED.

Co.

John d

Jun

E. Washington



See

You will have heard probably before  
the receipt of this, ~~that~~ Major General  
Arndt has gone to New York - and  
that the Assistant General of the  
British Army & Mr Joshua Smith who  
were concerned with him in measures  
which occasioned his flight are both  
in our hands. I am desirous of seeing  
you without loss of time in consequence  
of those events, and request that you  
will proceed to Leeds as  
may be, without delay.

Yours &c

With regards &c &c

Yours &c

Gifford

Robinson's House  
in the Highlands.

Sept 26. 1780



ence, Esq.  
Advocate Genl.

© 1796  
Wm. B. B. B. B.  
Washington







To

John D. [unclear] Esq  
Advocate Genl

W. Washington

Ms. A. 9. 2. 1700  
W. Washington  
Advocate Genl

them that had been obtained on their accounts at Henry Point & that all  
some delay General had since took notice to Genl. W. Livingston  
reflecting himself & Major Landrey & that not only both the General  
& the General should they secure him, but also that the General  
had acted on the same principle that had actuated him all  
the war (that is) the General gave of his country, & now gave  
with discretion the <sup>very property</sup> ~~the property~~ and knew, but cannot for any life  
on the whole I think him one of the greatest soldiers that have  
deceased. Colonel — we must Genl. Gouverneur Bongard to this  
last of the army, & in consequence of the orders of General Waynes  
now being, just as we move the 10th Regt Mass Inf Regt Mass  
the Chief of the Army or General Waynes & the 3rd Regt Mass  
with the 3rd Regt Mass and some other Regts Mass Inf Regt Mass  
He has nothing of the second Division or General Waynes  
& his Staff & the others with the General Waynes have just with

with him in measures which occasioned his flight are both in our hands. I am desirous of seeing you without loss of time, in consequence of these events, and request that you will proceed to headquarters, wherever they may be, without delay.<sup>1</sup>

I am, dear Sir, with regard of esteem,

Your most obedient servant,

GEORGE WASHINGTON

*To John Lawrence,*

*Judge-Advocate-General.*

West Point, 8th October, 1780.

DEAR SIR, —

I received your favor of the 9th September and would have been very happy if your Carolina accounts had been true, but alas! they are (like many others) premature. I fully agree with you in opinion with respect to the result of this campaign, and believe our swords (through necessity) will rust in the scabbards and that there will be few broken bones amongst us; but I hope you'll do us the justice to believe it is not our fault, or want of inclination to risque, but without the command of the Sound and North River, all your attempts against New York must be abortive. Another thing: our supplies of provisions must be more regular, and not an army starving seven days out of fifteen in the active time and part of a campaign, — which I assure you has

<sup>1</sup> This letter of Washington's, written the day after the flight of Arnold, is the prelude to the court-martial proceedings against Smith, which are referred to in the introduction to this volume. — ED.



Dear Sir

I Recd. your part of the 9<sup>th</sup> Sept<sup>r</sup> & am I have been very happy  
if your Excellency had been true but alas they are (the many other  
rumors) I fully agree with you in opinion with the first of the  
Refull of this Campaign & believe are false (through necessity)  
will not in the labors of that there will be few broken bones  
among them, but I hope you do as the justice to believe it is not  
and fault, as want of inclination to England, but without the  
Command of the Law & I do not think it all an attempt to gain  
or to get the other view, another thing and supplying of provisions  
will be more regular & not in Army & having crumpled  
out of fifteen in the last time & part of a Campaign, which  
I believe you has been an fortunate at the other, and to  
the the Villages of that West William of Dotted money  
who had told to Clinton the Compostant's Regis  
Westpoint & was so high Complaining the Affairs that the  
Europe were actually on board the ships to take a position  
I only waited the Return of Major Andrew (Genl. & Stanton)  
who came up to settle the Confession with a good deal  
fortunately taken on his Return <sup>to the</sup> in the maps of all the forts  
& Approaches of Westpoint also letters to Clinton, & Corde  
Pap for his security he had Chang<sup>d</sup> his dress & left his Regiment  
boat at one Smith's which brought him under the denomination  
of a spy for which he was tried & with this he has paid the  
possession the 2<sup>nd</sup> Sept<sup>r</sup> & his friend Smith is now in a trial  
I is deputed to them the same gate, Arnold's Cap. by the  
rapidity of one Co. of the Dragon's he had  
Andrew in Captivity & permitted him to write to board them  
all the papers mentioned also in his position which ought  
to have added him into confinement & to which standing which  
Genl. Washington (to whom he had sent an acct. of the whole)  
wrote them half an hour of botching board in his quarters  
I only got off in a boat to the Frigate that day in the River  
with the bladders on his back, & the cannon ball was so mean as  
to give up his bargemen who he deceived by telling them he was  
going on board as a flag of truce, but the British kept  
by the Generosity of Genl. Washington (who let a horse of mine



been our unfortunate situation. Add to this the villainies of that arch-villain of detested memory, Arnold, who had sold to Clinton the important post of West Point, and was so nigh completing the affair that the troops were actually on board the ships to take possession, and only waited the return of Major André (General Clinton's aide), who came up to settle the infernal plan with Arnold, and was fortunately taken on his return to New York, with maps of all the forts and approaches of West Point; also letters to Clinton, and Arnold's pass for his security. He had changed his dress and left his Regimental coat at one Smith's, which brought him under the denomination of a spy, for which he was tried, and with his life has paid the forfeit on the 2nd instant. His friend, Smith, is now under trial and is expected to share the same fate. Arnold escaped by the stupidity of one Colonel Jameson, of the Dragoons, who had André in custody and permitted him to write to Arnold, though all the papers mentioned were in his possession, which ought to have induced him to order him into confinement. Notwithstanding which, General Washington (to whom he had sent an account of the whole affair) was within half an hour of catching Arnold in his quarters, and he only got off in a boat to the Frigate that lay in the river, with the clothes on his back, and the scoundrel was so mean as to give up his bargemen, whom he deceived by telling them he was going on board a flag of truce. But the British, excited by the generosity of General Wash-



ington (who let a crew of theirs that had been detained on their account at Stony Point), let all come away.

Arnold has since wrote twice to General Washington respecting himself and Major André, and threatened both the Court and the General should they execute him. Also that he, Arnold, had acted on the same principle that had actuated him all the war ; that is, the general good of his country. How you will reconcile the idea to his conduct, I don't know ; but I cannot, for my life. On the whole, I think him one of the greatest villains that ever disgraced a nation.

We marched General Irvine's Brigade to this post immediately on discovery of the plot, and General Wayne's part of the way to reinforce us in case of necessity ; but all being now quiet we move the 10th inst. towards Jersey, where the chief of the army are marched today, and the York troops with the Jersey and some others are to garrison this place. We hear nothing of the Second Division, or Count de Guchien and his fleet, and the others with the French troops are quite safe and quiet at Rhode Island.

I have no other news worth your notice ; therefore, now pray you, and every other worthy character, to use your influence in raising a force for the war, or God knows what will be the result yet.

You are pleased to mention, I suppose as a patron to the profligate army, the chaste conduct of our militia, whom God continue in their chastity and ease, and incline them to the good, and not the ruin

of the country by adding the enormous expense of their *chaste* campaigns to the already sinking burthen that the country groans under.

Your friends here are very well and I suppose write you.

I pray you to present my best wishes to Mrs. Montgomery and the young ladies and believe me to be your sincere friend and obedient servant,

[Colonel] RICHARD BUTLER

*To John Montgomery, Esq.*

*[Member of the Continental Congress.]*

*Headquarters, near Passaic Falls,  
16th October, 1780.*

DEAR SIR,—

I have this moment received your Excellency's favor of the 14th, with its inclosures. I do not think it at all improbable that the movements of the enemy, at this advanced season of the year, may have been upon a plan concerted to take advantage of the success of Arnold's treachery. General Greene, upon the first intelligence, ordered Gansevoort's regiment up to Albany. I have directed him to send either Weisenfelt's or Willet's regiment after them. This is all the force I can with propriety detach from the Highland posts, until the views of the enemy at New York are more fully ascertained. They have for a long time made demonstrations of an embarkation, but the sailing has been hitherto delayed. I, however, hope that the troops already ordered, with the assistance of the militia, will be sufficient to check

With the greatest regard & esteem  
Your Excellency,

Most Obedt Servt

been upon a plan concerted to take advantage of the ju-

in 1649  
town  
& given  
to  
country





Oct  
Genl. Washington  
- he is ordered  
to go to the  
front Mr. Co.  
Mr. Bury -

the enemy. They must depend upon the country for supplies, as the magazines are in a manner exhausted. Your Excellency will oblige me by keeping me advised of any further operations.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest regard and esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient and humble servant.

GEO. WASHINGTON

*His Excellency, George Clinton, Esq.*

*[Governor of New York.]*





## INDEX

- Anderson, John (Major André), letter to Colonel Sheldon, 109; letter from Arnold to, 102.
- Arnold, Benedict, letter to Varick, 82; to Governor Clinton, 89; wrote "Gustavus" letter, 102; letters to Colonel Sheldon, 106, 107, 111, 200; to Major Tallmadge, 113; escape after discovery of treason, 130; letter to Mr. Stephens, 193; to Colonel Livingston, 194, 206; to General Parsons, 196; to Washington, 198, 202, 203; to General Greene, 199; to Colonel Lamb, 205.
- Arnold, Mrs., innocence of, 42; interviewed by Washington, 132; returns to Philadelphia, 136.
- Benson, Colonel Robert, letter to Varick, 96.
- Butler, Colonel Richard, letter to John Montgomery, 209.
- Clinton, Governor, letter to Arnold on flags, 90; letter from Washington to, 212.
- Cobb, Lieutenant-Colonel, member Court of Inquiry, 51.
- Dearborn, Lieutenant-Colonel, member Court of Inquiry, 51.
- Dyckman, Sampson, 95.
- Eustis, Dr. William, testimony of, 137.
- Fish, Major Nicholas, deposition of, 65.
- Franks, Major David S., testimony of, 120.
- Greene, General Nathaniel, letter from Arnold to, 199.
- "Gustavus" letter (from Arnold, as "Gustavus" to Major André, as "John Anderson"), 102.
- Harrison, Colonel Robert, certificate by, on "Gustavus" letter, 105; deposition, on Varick's behaviour, 113.
- Hart, Albert Bushnell, LL. D., Introduction by, 11.
- Hay, Colonel Undy, Quartermaster-General, 81.
- Heron, William, certificate on "Gustavus" letter, 99.

- Knox, General Henry, deposition of, 117.
- Lamb, Colonel John, testimony of, 147; letter from Arnold to, 205.
- Livingston, Colonel James, letter from Arnold to, 194, 206.
- Marshall, Samuel B., certificate of, 159.
- Martin, Mrs. Catherine, deposition of, 157.
- Mead, Colonel Richard K., deposition of, 115.
- Parsons, Brigadier-General, certificate of, 73, 99; letter from Arnold to, 196.
- Paterson, Brigadier-General, certificate of, 75.
- Reid, Major, member Court of Inquiry, 51.
- Romeyn, Rev. Dyrck, deposition of, 76.
- Scammell, Alexander, writes Washington's approval of findings of Court, 165.
- Schuyler, Major-General, letter to Court of Inquiry, 67.
- Scott, Hon. John Morin, Varick studied Law with, 65.
- Sewall, Captain Henry, deposition of, 71.
- Sheldon, Colonel Elisha, letter to Arnold, 108; letter from Arnold to, 111, 200.
- Smith, Joshua Hett, Varick's suspicions of, 95; Arnold warned against, 125; visit to Arnold, 127; quarrel with Varick and Franks, 141, 172.
- Stafford, John K., certificate of, 161.
- St. Clair, Major-General, certificate of, 74.
- Stephens, letter from Arnold to, 193.
- Tripp, Henry Dorne, deposition of, 155.
- Van Schaick, Colonel, President Court of Inquiry, 51.
- Varick, John, father of Richard, wounded, 79; taken prisoner, 80.
- Varick, Colonel Richard, opening address to Court of Inquiry, 54; joined Arnold's family, 62; oath of allegiance to U. S., 69; continuation of address to Court of Inquiry, 81; letter to Arnold, accepting position, 83; to Colonel Hay, 85; presents evidence on Arnold's conduct, 88; letter to Colonel Benson about suspicion of Joshua Hett Smith, 92, 172; dislike for Smith, 123; suspicions of Arnold's perfidy, 130, 142; closing address to Court of Inquiry, 162; testimony in behalf of Franks, 167; letter to sister, 189.

Washington, arrival at Robinson House, 130, 180; letter from Arnold to, 198, 202, 203; approval of Court of Inquiry

findings, 165; letter to Arnold, 201; letter to John Lawrence, 208; letter to Governor Clinton, 212.

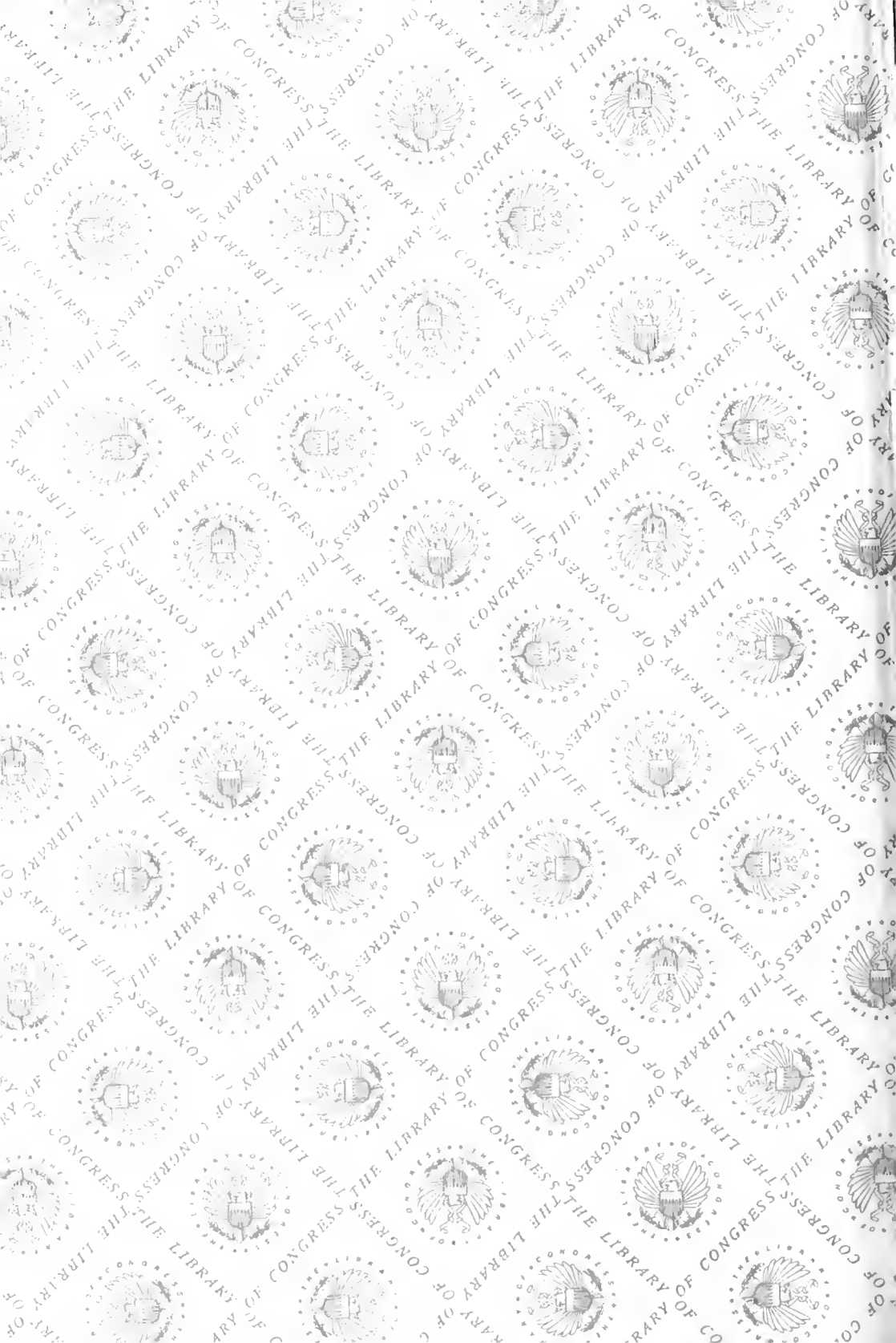
PRINTED BY  
H. O. HOUGHTON AND COMPANY  
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS, U. S. A.  
*The Riverside Press*

**RB 9.3**

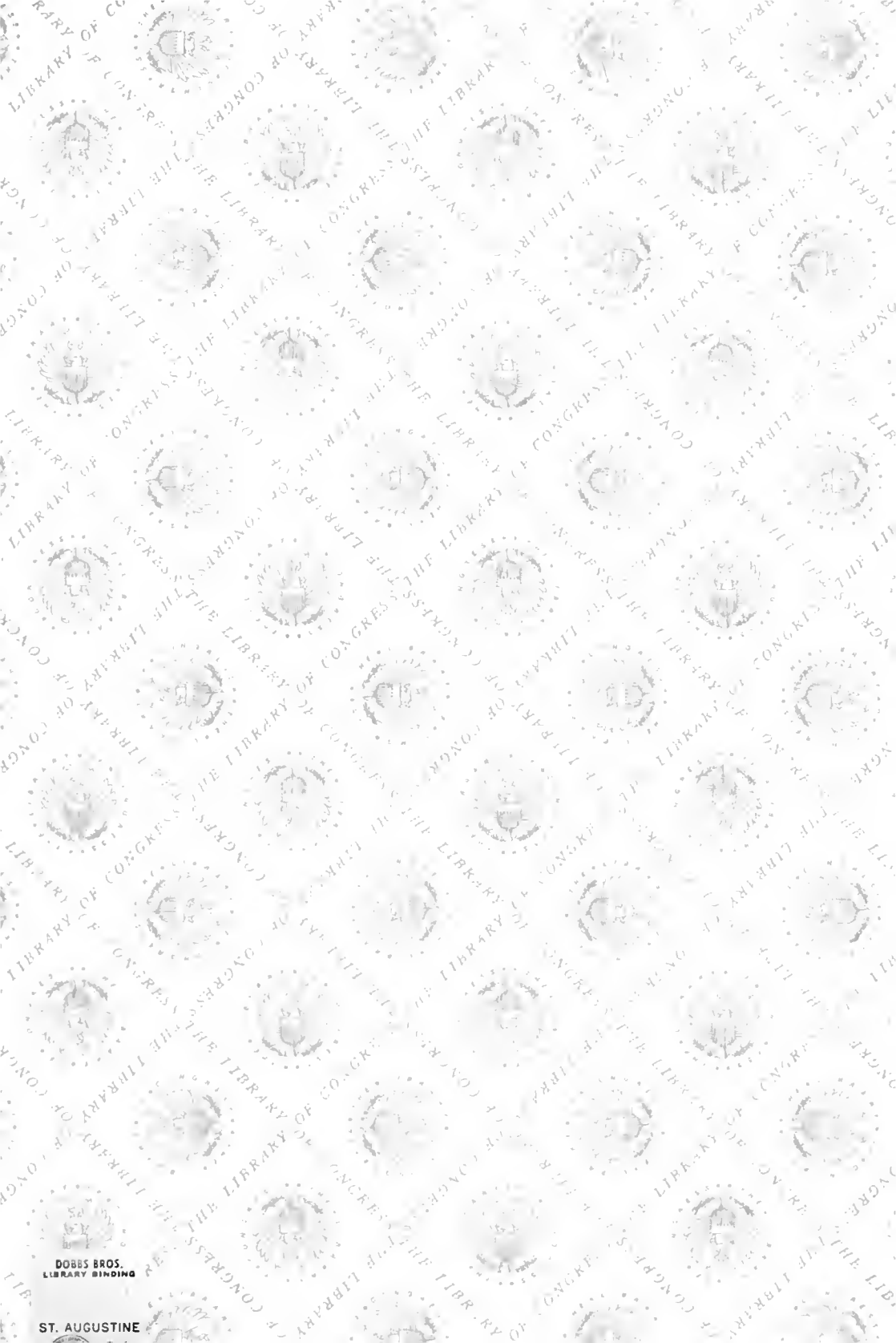












LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



0 011 712 540 3